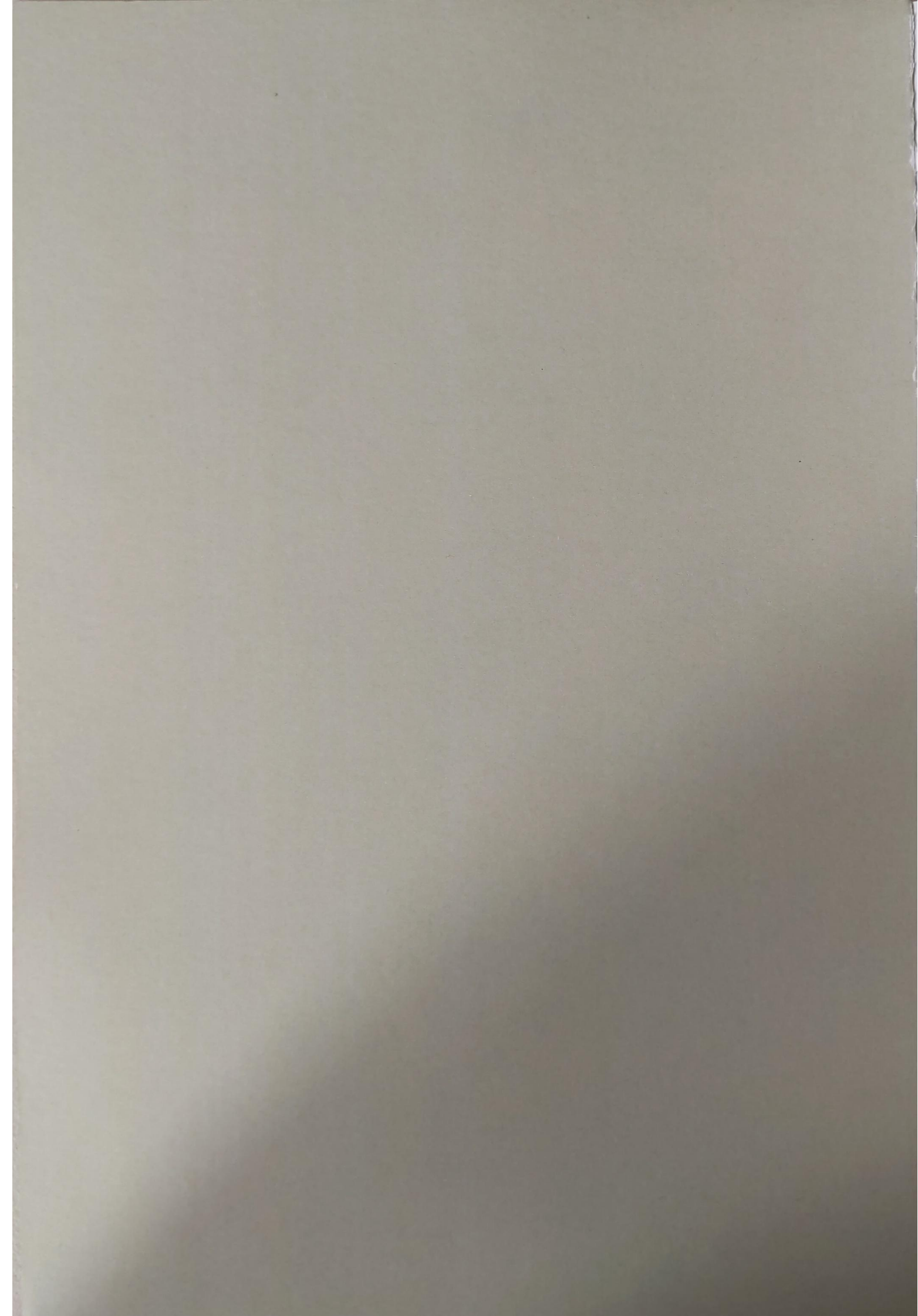


# ΔΗ ΡΑΙΡΤΙ ΗΛΙΣΙΥΗΤΑ

λεῶδαρ ΟΙΡΙΣΙΥΙΛ ηΔ ΗΔΗΤΟ-ΪΕΙΓΕ 2018



Leabhar Oifigiúl na hArd-Fheise 2018



**Leabhar Oifigiúl na hArd-Fheise 2018**  
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**Gach ceart ar cosnamh**

**Clóbhualte in Éirinn**

**Buíochas le cách a chur á n-iarracht agus á n-am isteach chun an leabhar  
seo a chruthú**

**With thanks to all who contributed their time and effort  
to produce this book**

**An Páirtí Náisiúnta**  
**The National Party**

**Bosca Poist 12838 Baile Átha Cliath 2**  
**P.O. Box 12838 Dublin 2**

**[www.pairtinaisiunta.ie](http://www.pairtinaisiunta.ie)**  
**[www.nationalparty.ie](http://www.nationalparty.ie)**

## Ρόιρín Òub

Δ Ρόιρín ná bíòò brón orc fé'í éiriz òuit:  
Cá na bráit're 'ceáct éar ráile 'r íao az triall ar muir,  
Ciosraio do pároun ón bPápa ir ón Róim anoir  
'S ní rPárlar fíon Spáinneac ar mo Róirín Òub.

Ir fadā an réim Δ léiz mé léi ó inné 'ocí inniu,  
Carna rléibte zo noeácar léi, fé reolta ar muir;  
An éirne ir éait mé 'léim í, cé zur móir é an rruic;  
'S bí ceol téao ar zac taoð díom ir mo Róirín Òub.

Mairb cú mé, Δ bríoeac, ir nárb fearrde òuit,  
Ir zo bruil m'anam irciż i ngean orc 'r ní inné ná inniu;  
O'fáz cú laz anbrann mé i ngné ir i zcruic-  
Ná feall orim ir mé i ngean orc, Δ Róirín Òub.

Siubalfainn féin an drúct leac ir fáraiz žuiric,  
Mar řúil zo bfaizinn rún uait nó páirt dem éoil.  
Δ éraoibín cúmra, žeallair doimra zo raib žrá azac dom  
-'S žurab í fíor-rcoc ná Muimān í, mo Róirín Òub.

Óā mbeoð reirreac azam éreabfainn in azaiò ná zcnoc,  
ir óeanfainn roircéal i lár an airinn do mo Róirín Òub,  
béarfainn pōz don éailín óz Δ béarfao Δ hóize òom,  
ir óeanfainn clea ar cúl an leara le mo Róirín Òub.

Beio an éirne 'na cuilcið tréana ir réabfar cnoic,  
Beio an fárraize 'na conncaib deaiza ir doircefar fuil,  
Beio zac žleann rléibe ar fuo éireann ir móinte ar criic,  
Lá éigin ful Δ n-éazraio mo Róirín Òub.

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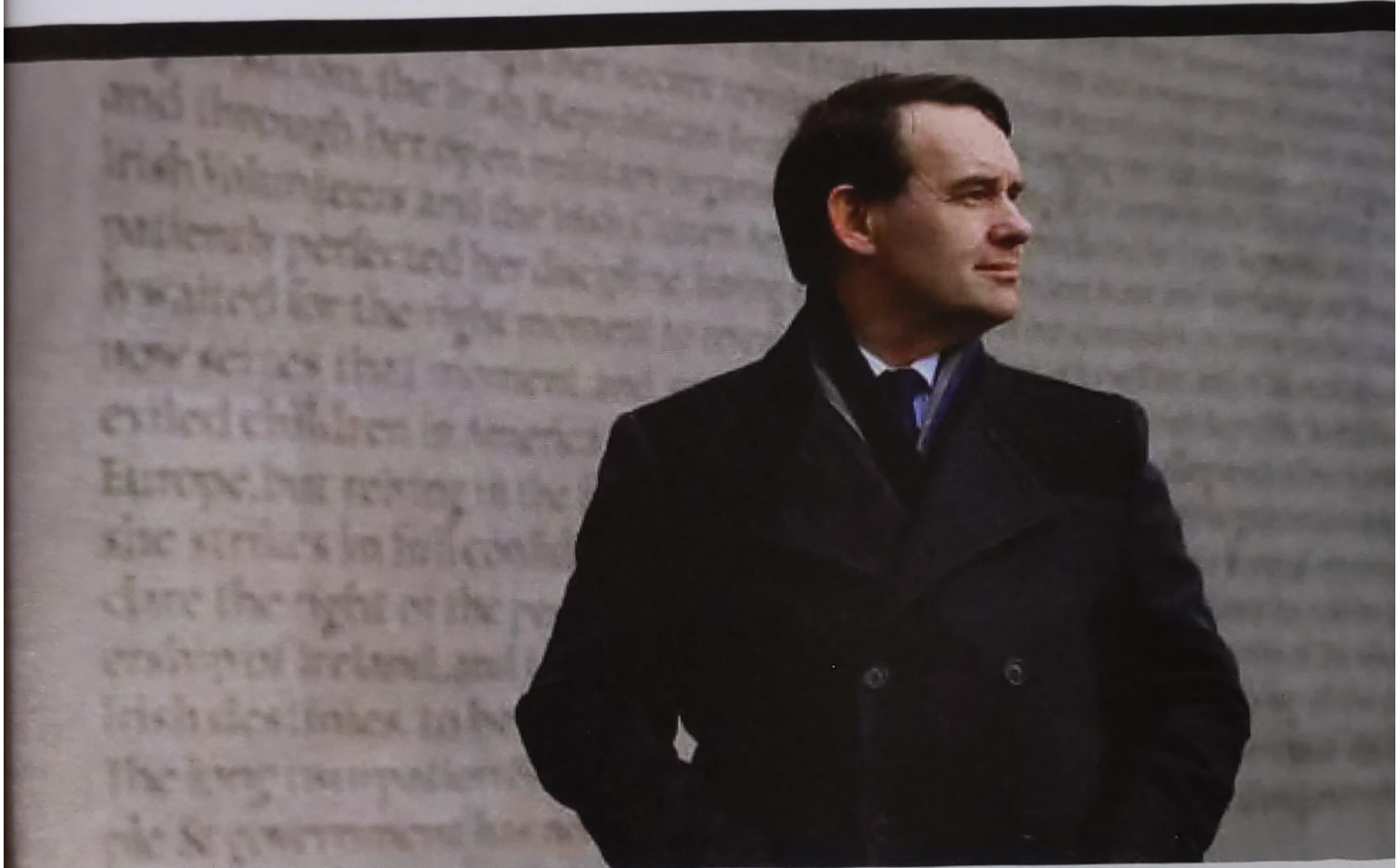




# **President's Introduction**



# Ard Fheis 2018



## President's Introduction

Justin Barrett

While in earlier more epic times Irish men and Irish women might have formed a corps or a flying column, earlier still rallied to the banner of our finte, we have made for ourselves a political party. The modern age is banal in its forms and dull in its presentation. As our task is heroic it takes a most "unheroic" dramatic. The country is full of political parties. Are there 30, or 40,

or perhaps more all vying or at least making the pretence of vying for power. There are those who count only the ones acceptable to the Clerk of the Dáil for inclusion on the Register. God save Ireland, its rebels be now counted only as those on an official register administered by our rulers, controllers and auditors general. Either way "self styled" in the language of the media or "registered" we took our place in November of 2016 in a long line of political parties.

But immediately something different. No platformed, I think is the term used by social media, the gathering ground of edgy action and political demonstration, when not sitting in the middle of the road holding up traffic, so that houses will appear where previously there were none. And just as they are not ones for laying one brick upon another, they declared us intolerant, and intolerance cannot be tolerated. Whereas before our formal launch some well meaning criticism of the National Party had been directed towards the name, flatly stated, the enemies of Ireland did not see it that way, and rightly so. To throw down the word national in this un-national, international and anti-national of times was provocation enough and threw down the gauntlet of itself. There is not space enough in this whole Ard Fheis booklet to list the

number of adjectives that a National Party conjured up in the minds of the Antifa Left. Workers of the World Unite, there were chains to be lost in preventing a press conference in the Merrion Hotel.

And yet here we are. Two years on and we exist, the provocation of that existence continues to gall, and we are growing so that growth must be denied. First, we were only two, and then when we could not be just two we were hardly any, and then we were fringe, and then we were a dangerous fringe, and then we were an as yet unrealised fringe potential but only surely a few dozen at most. We have been variously too old and too young, too few and too many, dangerously harmless, stupid and insidiously clever. We have become our own Myth.



The truth is altogether more prosaic, we have made of ourselves what could not be done, and we have done it, the rallying point of the national reaction in our country Ireland. Yes, there are parallels on the Continent, but we are no replica of anything there or anything here before either. The National Party, authentically Irish, committed to being "not Free merely but Gaelic as well, not Gaelic merely but Free as well" and committed, some of us at least, to the last drop of blood without the least attempt at melodrama. We will create our own epic for this time and this place, drawing on the past for exemplar and the future for inspiration. And through that dullest of means if need be, a political party. The great compliment our enemies, and we have no enemies but the enemies of Ireland, can pay to us is that as such a dull thing, a political party, only barely entering on our third year and going in to this only our second Ard Fheis, we are taunted as having not (in their opinion) achieved enough. What other political party in its second year of existence could have raised such expectations, and dare I say fears, that in the absence of any elections on any level, it is remarked scornfully that we have not yet succeeded in electing anyone?

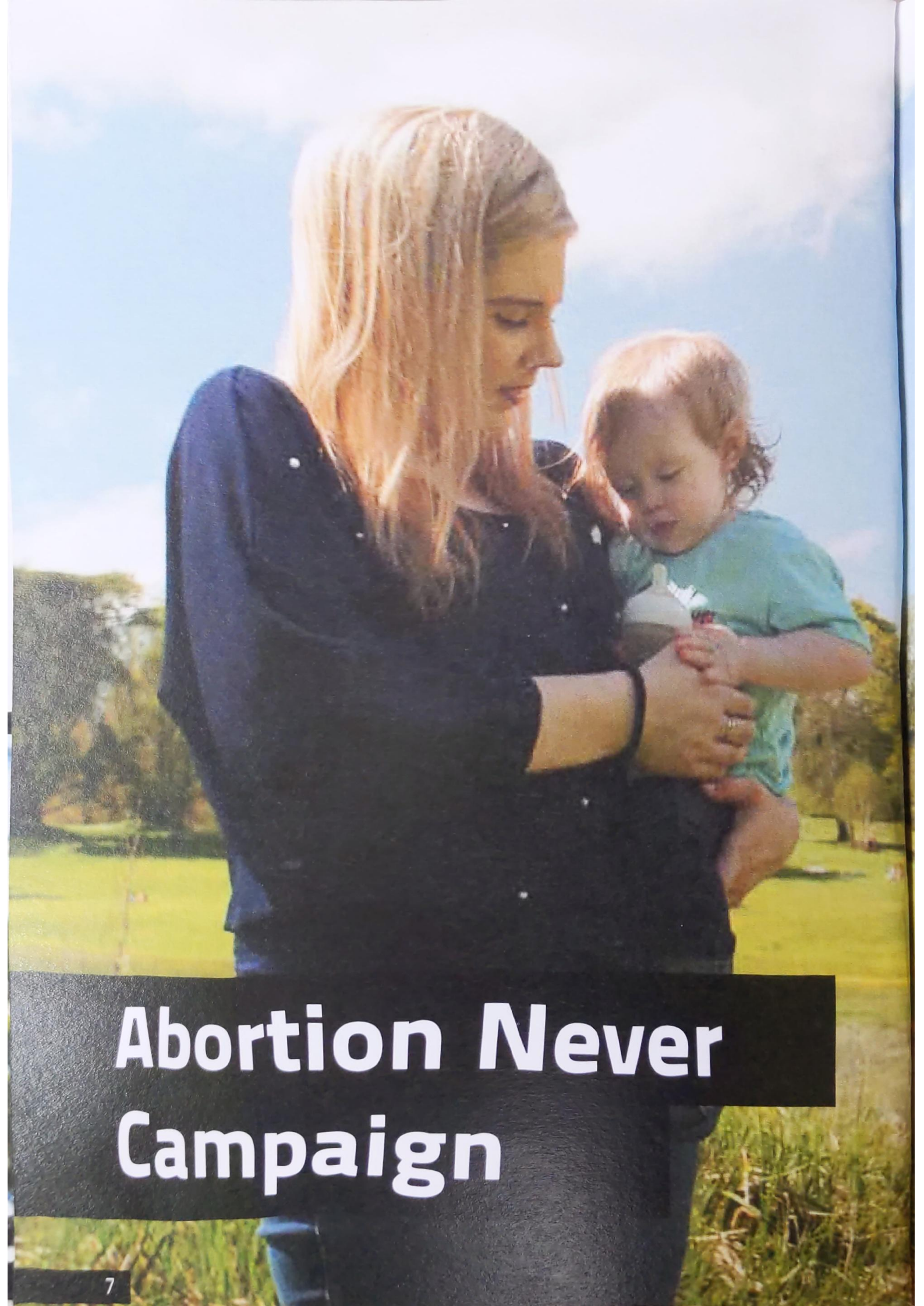
In the coming year we shall continue to grow the numbers and build the structures to withstand a wilder affray than they can muster. Not their threats, thoughts or taunts, shall move National Party Principle or policy, tactics or strategy from the straight line we have set ourselves, understanding that to be a long one,

the hard way, of rights and truths, of absolutes undeniable and undenied. So, a political party just like any other?

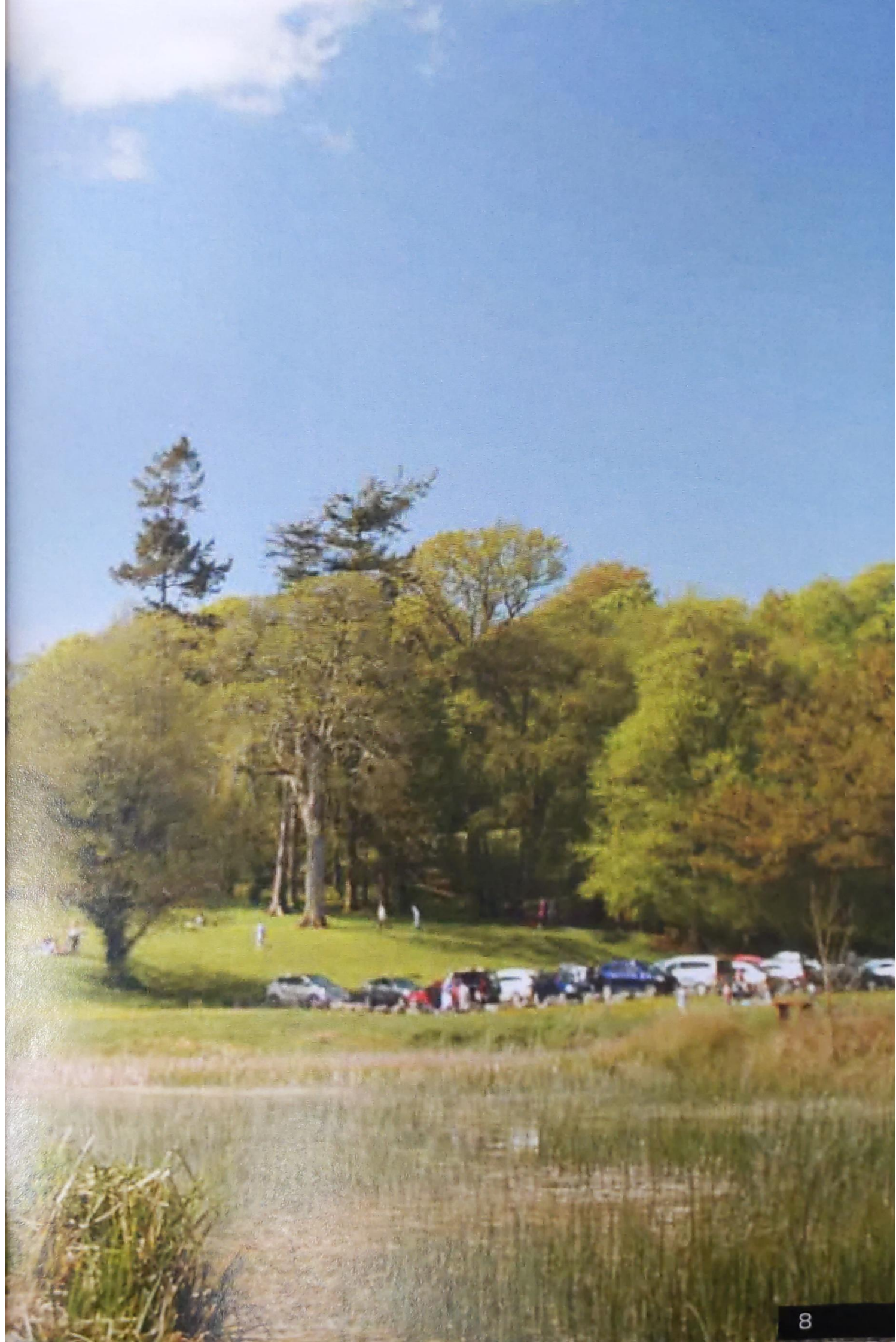
Not so, the very mundanity of the heroism of the membership and supporters of the National Party set us apart immediately and bound for epic events that will only be seen as epic in hindsight. Just as the flame of Irish nationalism has always been kept alight even in times when none would say the hope aloud, we are embarked upon saving a Nation in the precise manner prescribed by the Constitutional and parliamentary means laid down to quench the appetite for the full freedom that is our people's manifest destiny.

Slow is steady, and steady is faster. And we are well on our way. ■

**Ar Dheis ar Aghaidh !**

A photograph of a woman with long blonde hair, seen from the side, holding a young child with curly hair. The child is wearing a green t-shirt and holding a white baby bottle. They are standing in a grassy field with trees in the background under a blue sky with light clouds. The woman is wearing a dark blue long-sleeved shirt.

# **Abortion Never Campaign**



**BABIES  
WILL  
DIE**

**VOTE NO**

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# The National Party and the Right to Life

Justin Barrett

The following is a statement released by Justin Barrett, Uachtarán an Pháirtí Náisiúnta, at the launch of the Abortion Never Campaign

For some reason the advocates of repealing the Eighth Amendment to the Irish Constitution which guarantees the equal right to life of the unborn child with his or her Mother, enacted in 1983, would like to begin right there in 1983 or very shortly before it anyway. It's credible that part of the reasoning is that the proposition itself was rather grubbily handled in a period of political instability and so to begin here is to initiate the conversation within the context of a hide-bound principle being subjected necessarily to all that comes with practical political action. The grubbiness of its proposition tells us nothing useful about either the Amendment or the issue, only that there are some flaws in how law is made, but to frame the debate is to bias the debate and that will do the repeal crowd just fine.

Any alternative starting point would be equally random, as would be identifying the philosophical issue at the core of the Amendment. Is it about abortion? Well yes and more.

Is it about the right to life? Well yes, but it's hardly an all-encompassing answer. Is it about law? Again yes, what it can do, what it can't do, what it simply declares concerning human ideals in interaction with human realities, but if it's a law it's an incomplete one.

If we're just talking about killing children and doing so either legally or under legal requirement we can go all the way back to the early Roman Republic and in particular the Twelve Tables, a very rough equivalent of a modern Constitution and in particular the provisions in Table IV under the heading of the broader law and tradition concept of *Paterfamilias*. *Paterfamilias* was a real patriarchy writ large, "A Handmaid's Tale" is a third wave feminist utopia by comparison. Among the many rights granted to "the Father of the Family" the most relevant to current discussion would be '*jus vitae necisque potestas*', literally the power of Life and Death over any and all members of his household, and indeed the obligation to choose death in the case of a severely handicapped child. About as late term an abortion as you can imagine.

The Father, Roman Law supposed, could only have the best interests of his family at heart, and would

know more intimately well their real life situation, more certainly than, say, public opinion or restrictive law. And, certainly he would choose better, having sought expert advice, than the application of an abstract principle. It was a right not generally availed of since public opinion regarded its use as vile, and while in law the Pater could claim such a right, in practice any who did so were thoroughly despised, still further as Rome became more civilised. It is unclear when or even whether the law was eventually revoked entirely, but it didn't last.

If there is an argument that explains why we have not simply replaced Paterfamilias with Materfamilias, I have not heard it, and if there is an argument that explains how it is less vile when exercised by a woman than by a man, it surrounds the nebulous difference of term limits and whether "bodily autonomy" is really a superior concept to "family autonomy" when it comes down to the line of taking innocent life by free choice. It is about the substance of when one person's life becomes subject to the discretion of another. This comparison, admittedly suffers from the flaw of being archaic, and the advocates of repealing the Eight Amendment, having not referenced Materfamilias explicitly will deny it.

The legislation covering abortion was up until 2013, the Section 58 of the Offences Against the Person Act 1861. It has reached a point close to faith among abortion advocates that this Law had been introduced as part of a wave of puritanism across the world and that it took

until 1861 indicates that up until then there was a widespread tolerance for and "understanding" of abortion. As with most articles of faith within the death culture this is pure make believe. The reality is that Parliament in the UK as with parliaments around the world reacted with glacial slowness to the reality that abortion, through surgery rarely, but abortifacient more usually, was even happening at all. It was pardon the dark pun, inconceivable, that just because the means were becoming more widely available at the turn of that century, that the occurrence of such a vile practice might more widely ensue.

There accompanies this a side argument, absurd in itself, that because there was some theological debate in medieval times among Christian, by which then meant exclusively Catholic, scholars concerning the "moment of ensoulment" that this too represented a debate on, or even a tolerance of, abortion. In fact the Church had always taught that humanity began at conception, that abortion was a grievous sin, and therefore the issue of ensoulment was debateable within the intellectual safety of being a purely academic exercise.

There were no laws in place throughout the Western World to criminalise or even to attempt the prevention of abortion because it seemed so utterly unbelievable that anyone would do such a thing. If this seems ridiculous with hindsight, so too will the idea that parliaments around the world

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removed prohibitive laws so quickly and almost in unison in the mid 20th Century.

And so we came to Roe vs. Wade, the infamous United States Supreme Court decision of 1973 which, without the necessity of elaborating detail, declared that the child in the womb was not, within the meaning of the 14th Amendment, a "person" and since the mother clearly was, that she was to be given *Materfamilias* in the first trimester, limited only slightly in the second, and not expunged entirely in the third. It is worth noting that it was the State which had an increasing "interest" in the life of the foetus and not that the foetus' rights as such were acknowledged as gestation progressed.

Feminists, or indeed anyone, should not rely on this too much; a court that has the power to declare non-personhood has unlimited power and there is no reason why a court so empowered could not have as easily decided, leaving aside social and political pressures, that the mother was not a person and that the unborn child was.

Other countries have enacted other laws concerning abortion, and indeed some of the States of the US had legal abortion before this SCOTUS decision, but I would contend that it's uncontroversial to say that Roe vs. Wade is central to the Irish debate on abortion for two reasons. One, the language, "personhood" "privacy" "choice" "autonomy" etc. which is all pervasive among repealers finds



its origin here, and while there was almost no possibility of an Abortion Act similar to the British one being introduced in Ireland in the 1980s, the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign was directly a response to the very real fear that an Irish Supreme Court might follow the American case. In a debate about which little is agreed the predominant role of Roe would seem to be the one thing.

That American ruling has been in place and enforced now for nearly five decades and under it more than 1.6 million American babies (just not persons) are killed every year. The issues it has raised and the efforts both to defend and limit it have grown complex over the years both in philosophical argument and in political discourse. How extraordinary then that though it has always been the 'end-game' of Irish abortion advocates their own thinking, leaving aside altogether subjectives like morality, has been so very shallow. Stupid even.

So very stupid, that they have very nearly won. They have been opposed with arguments so very subtle at times and so deeply researched in others that they have relatively quickly overawed that opposition and as this is being written we are within months of a referendum which would in the first instance Repeal the Eighth Amendment and usher in legislation which thus far looks likely to go at least as far as the American law. In theory, if not in practice, very much further than the British '67 Act which Irish women are supposedly rushing in great numbers annually to avail of and

is, if only it were closer to hand, the apparent solution to all problems. As this is written there is too, if opinion polls are to be believed, a majority in favour of Repeal and a narrower but still substantial majority in favour of the legislation.

The Eighth Amendment is itself quite simple, and logically unassailable, in itself, argued of itself. It reads "The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right."

There was a time, and not so very long ago, that the forces of what we can reasonably call life and death on abortion lined up on two logical arguments.

The death side, in denial of who they were, said that the child in the womb was not a child, and insofar as it was human it was human in the way a finger is human, technically, in part, and not wholly so. It was not a human being certainly, it was perhaps a "potential" human being. In popular phraseology it was "a clump of cells" and definitely not a "person". The mother of the child then was the only whole human being involved and the only person to be considered. In short abortion killed no one and should be not only legal but as freely available as any other surgery. There is a premise that has to be accepted here, but having been accepted the conclusions are logical enough.

The life side begins with an opposing premise, that the child in the womb is, was and could only be, whole and entire as a human being and insofar as it mattered after that it was a "person" too, but the distinction was irrelevant. Which it is? This is the side the National Party is on, not by choice, nor vote, nor ideology, but fact. While the humanity of the unborn child might have been arguable in public discourse in the 1960s and 70s, the scientific capacity to see and know what is taking place in the womb during gestation has advanced to the point where the development of the child demonstrates its humanity in the earliest stages beyond reasonable doubt. Including specifically the much argued "when does human life begin?" DNA which says conception, not as an opinion but as a fact. Proceeding from the premise established, the conclusions were and are logical too, made only to seem within the realm of opinion.

If the foetus is a human being, whole and entire, separate from but obviously dependent upon his/her mother, the woman, then it has rights. Insofar as we accept there is such a thing as human rights and we do. The most fundamental right being the right to remain alive, without which there is little point in having any others.

Then there was, and still is, the murderous middle ground. They grant that the "unborn" have some right to life, they grant that this begins somewhere during pregnancy, but then they mix and match the why and the when.

And inevitably they end up fixing arbitrary dates on an arbitrary right. Note that they concede, as they must, that the child does not become a human being, a person, during delivery. Note too that they refuse to be drawn on what the earlier time might be or even if it matters at all. But they fix in law a date before which the child has no right to life or a very limited one and thereafter various dates on which that right becomes more effective. Where they get these dates from no one knows. How they decide when the circumstances of conception or the health of the infant affect the equation of humanity, no one knows either. In short the most unreasonable people of all are to be found in the "reasonable middle ground".

In more recent times, disturbed by the fact that it is no longer credible to deny the development of the unborn child in the womb, and wanting abortion on request full term (Roe) the issue of personhood has been pushed further to the front by the death side. In particular the advocates of Repealing the Eight Amendment have made their argument, not on the un-humanity of the foetus but rather on the basis that a human being might have different rights at different stages of life. It's impossible to imagine where this argument will end up, in the sense that what they are saying is strictly undeniable, that a fully grown woman is more "developed" than a foetus and consequently while there might be some argument about humanity the crucial issue is whose humanity is worth more and

should therefore be protected more. They conclude quickly in the context of the Eighth Amendment that the unborn cannot have an equal right to life to the mother, being less developed, and must then have no right to life at all.

This is a weird new stage in the abortion debate because, logically followed, it has stopped being about abortion altogether. It is about development, and the classification of human value based on development. It is particularly strange that this argument is advanced more commonly the further Left you go on the political spectrum. The logic is never followed of course, the statement is just repeatedly screamed and anyone raising even curious questions are labelled everything

from "misogynist" at the mild end of abuse to "Nazi" at the more extreme.

So we have the Left who reject the idea that outcomes in life can ever be unequal except by some deep set manipulation and unfairness arguing that there can be an inequality at the most basic level, the right to life. And the Right, who have always held that inequality of outcome is determined by many factors, not least ability and hard work, and can be and is often fair, upholding the most basic equality of opportunity that comes with being alive. There is of course no contradiction in the Right's position. It is the position that the National Party holds across the board, equality of opportunity, results determined by free choice, and yes sometimes luck. And being called anti-choice for it by the same





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Leftists who only believe in choice on one issue while advocating varying degrees of State totalitarian control over almost every other area of people's lives.

If abortion did not involve a second human life, the unborn child, the naturally libertarian instincts of the National Party view of the world would conclude that it is not for the State to make decisions for the individual. Again, across the board it is our view that in order to justify a law on any matter a convincing case must be made that the individual's action affect another individual to the point where the State has a duty to set a limit. It is a high bar to meet. The deliberate and intentional killing of one person by another meets that bar with a clear margin.

In particular the deliberate and intentional killing of an innocent person by another for any reason whatsoever clears the necessary bar to empower the right and the duty of the State to protect the innocent and the Eighth Amendment only asks that the State do so "as far as is practicable". It is a peculiarly moderate measure to deal with a horrendous crime, it is even one might venture to say the least that can be done. For abortion is not just killing, it is murder, plain and simple, and can have no justification in law.

Mater Familias is no advance on Pater Familias, a matriarchy of death is not progress, it is demeaning to women at a core level to suggest that it is something they should positively seek as a right, and it is murderous in intent and effect. All

else in the referendum debate is essentially a footnote to the basic. That the unborn child should have a right to life equal to the mother, is a truth self evident. That the State should protect and vindicate both person's right is similarly self evident. It is unfortunate that we are even having the discussion at all, but that is where we are now. ■

# A Republic of Innocent Dead Cannot live

Justin Barrett

The following is a statement released by Justin Barrett, Uachtarán an Pháirtí Náisiúnta, following the outcome of the 2018 Abortion referendum

No one I imagine is so stupid as to believe that truth or even an approximation of truth is derived from counting pieces of marked paper and that the largest pile of papers is it. What makes democracy so fragile is the certain knowledge, even by the winners, that it is often wrong and if they think it's right now, then it's either been wrong at some time in the past or will be at some time in the future. There is then a shaky agreement on both sides of a democratic debate that there is some more fundamental reason for using this method to make decisions than that it is always right. In Western Europe over the last century or so that shaky agreement has not always held together and indeed it still is far from ordinary worldwide.

A common everyday reason why most people accept democratic

results is that they are rarely always on the losing side. And in the case of government elections they can have another opportunity to persuade the majority that the opinion they hold is correct and hope that the mistakes of the previous few years are not so very bad.

On a much deeper level however respecting the "will of the people" comes from a profoundly scary place. If we do not have the people mark ballot papers and count those papers in order to make decisions, what then? A sudden dictatorship is in fact the least worst outcome of the mass of people losing faith in this way of doing things, more common in the history of the world is Civil War. And presumably regardless of your own political taste this is the one thing we can agree on dreading, and not just if we lose. Because even if "our side" wins, people will die. Many people. And the grievances of Civil War usually cut deeper and last longer than even those of wars between different countries. So at the back of the willingness to accept the highest pile of marked papers as a means of making decisions, especially of national importance, is the imperative that the issue is not

worth killing or being killed over.

That is why the Repealers, whose ballot pile was in the end so much higher than ours, cannot even begin to contemplate the enormity of what happened on May 25th last. They hail it with the slogans of "nothing will ever be the same again" but they don't understand how true that is. Many claim it as a victory over the Roman Catholic Church, when it is nothing of the kind, there are in the hierarchy more than one who cared little or nothing for the result either way. There are many who think they are getting their own back for some perceived or real time when they felt put down, or were genuinely harmed by people they, in some unquantifiable way, associate with a No vote. Given that so many Yes campaigners say it was about much more than abortion we have to at least take some of them at their word. The problem is that it *was* about abortion and whatever other things they were seeking redress for through a Yes vote they aren't going to get. Abortion is what we will get.

And the underlying agreement of democracy has been breached fundamentally. We count ballots so people don't die but this was about abortion, abortion on demand for three months, and practically for six, with some small barriers to be breached for that to become up to birth. In short as the Abortion Never posters exhorted people to realise "Babies Will Die". When the winners say to accept the will of the people, they are not making a moral statement in this instance but asking us to evaluate a power

equation. Grown persons are stronger than unborn persons, in the conflict of interest without the protection of the State the grown person wins. When two thirds of the country adamantly impose their will (let's dispense with referendum chatter about choice) on the other third they are doing so because they can, but in this specific instance above all others they are not doing so by assent.

No, we do not accept!

We neither have the means nor have I heard anyone express the desire for a revolution in the violent sense, but there is an unwillingness to accept the result as valid or binding, because it involves an injustice much greater than breaking the law. Nevertheless, it is within the law that the fight back will take place if only for practical reasons. Though talk of exclusion zones for even peaceful protest means even the question of "within the law" may not count as an absolute.

There has been another fundamental breach which the "winners" may come to regret. The principle of Natural Law as opposed to Positive Law which is at the heart or has been at the heart of jurisprudence in this country since literally "time immemorial" and though often ignored in the case of grievous injustice never before has it been denied in principle. It is the idea that some things are so indelibly imprinted as right and wrong on our nature as human beings that if there were no such thing as religion, or the supernatural, we would still

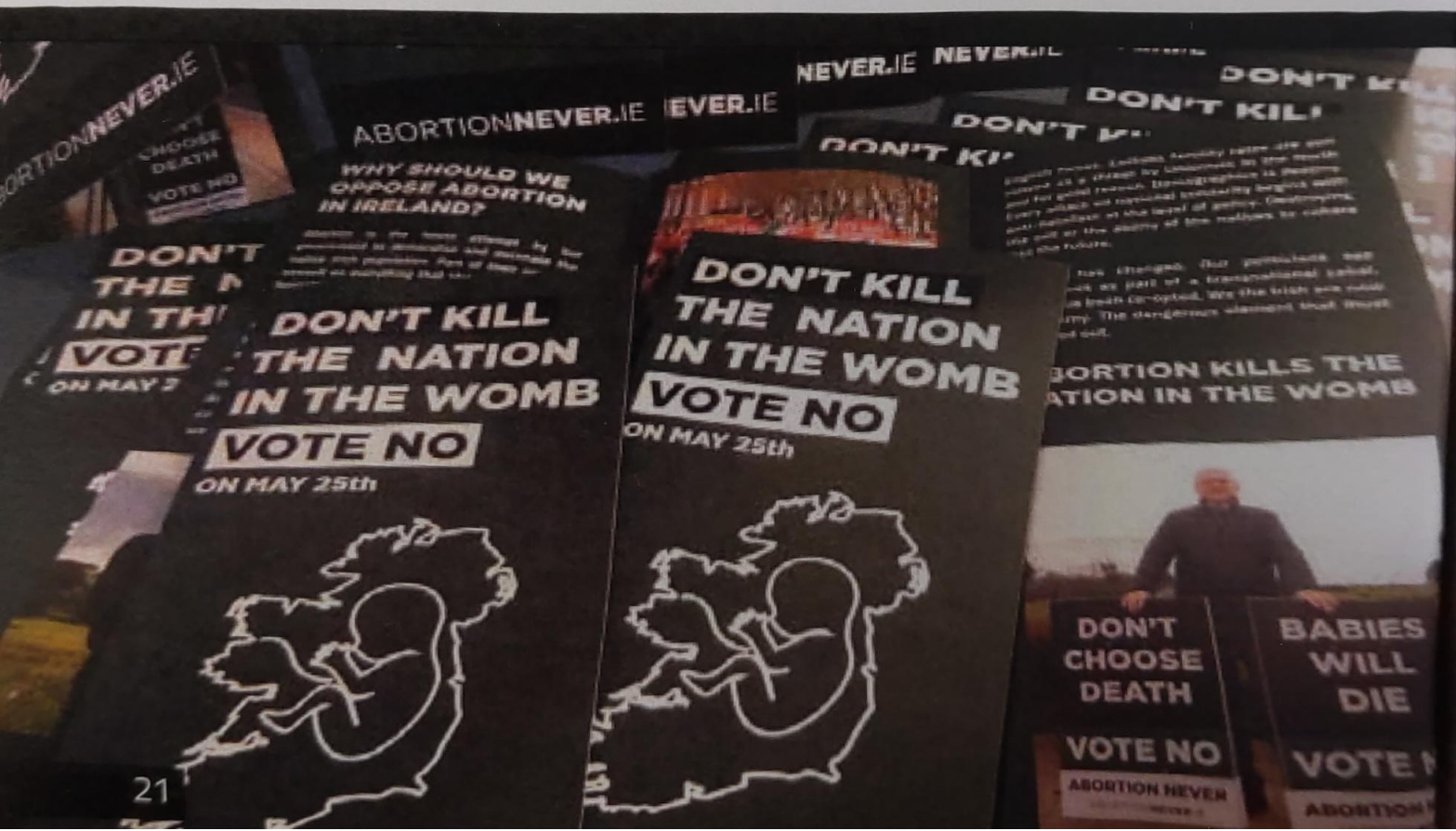
be bound to obey them. That not to do so is to make us no better than animals. Positive Law on the other hand says you can do whatever is not illegal and we are held to account only by the written word, formulated by whoever governs, and whoever governs ultimately does so by resort to the argument of force and force alone.

The Supreme Court affirmed this shortly before the referendum, the unborn child had no Constitutional rights outside the Eighth Amendment because only within that amendment was there anything written down. Judicial activism has motivated them occasionally to do the opposite and find non-existent reasons to change the law to what they obviously preferred it should be, but that is an issue for another time.

Now there is most certainly a utilitarian case for abortion, as

there is for infanticide or indeed common homicide. There are lots of reasons why a person might feel alleviated of some burden or find advantage in another person no longer being alive. It's an ever increasing feature of "modern" life and death that individuals take the opportunity when presented. The murdered person may not qualify as wholly innocent either, but it is still reasonably unusual, and more to the point the murderer, whatever the utilitarian gain, is both aware that it is a murder and that it is wrong even if they feel no particular remorse or regret. We have never before in Ireland accepted a utilitarian case for murder argued out over weeks on radio, television, newspaper, computer, phone, poster, indeed every means of human communication, without recoil.

The deliberate and intentional killing of the child in the womb, the commonly understood definition of



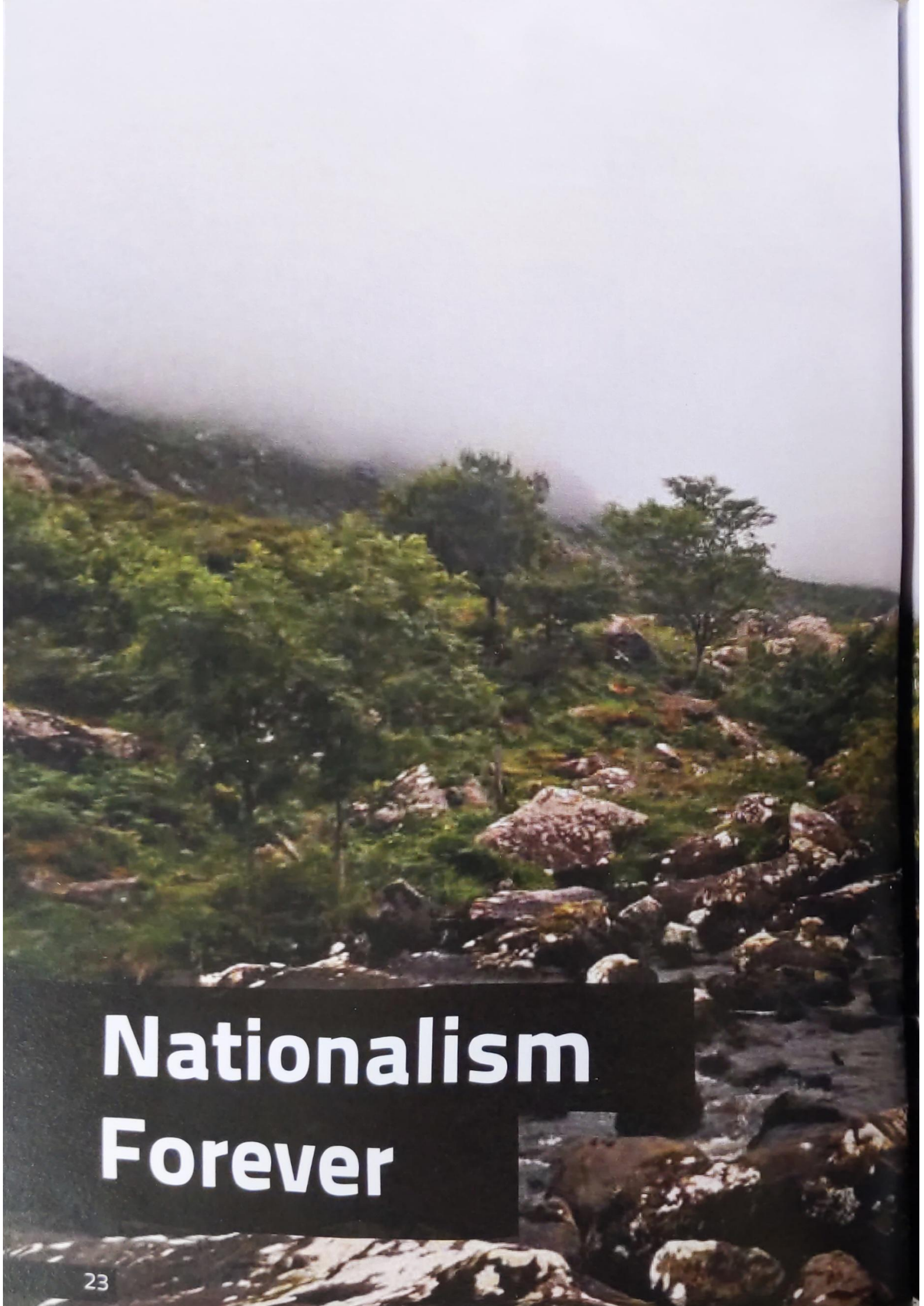
abortion in this campaign and the certain meaning of "termination" in the proposed legislation is objectively murder. Nothing more, nothing less.

It may be argued and indeed ought to be argued in a court of law as to whether in a particular instance for the woman who procures an abortion, whether there are or were extenuating circumstances; coercion physical or psychological, the state of her own mind at the time, the precise deciding factor, which taken together may lessen responsibility or remove it entirely. She may subjectively have murdered no one, but objectively a murder has been committed, and there is guilt somewhere upon someone. People who voted No were not without compassion for difficult circumstances, by the same token people who voted Yes were not, in the main, unaware that a child would die.

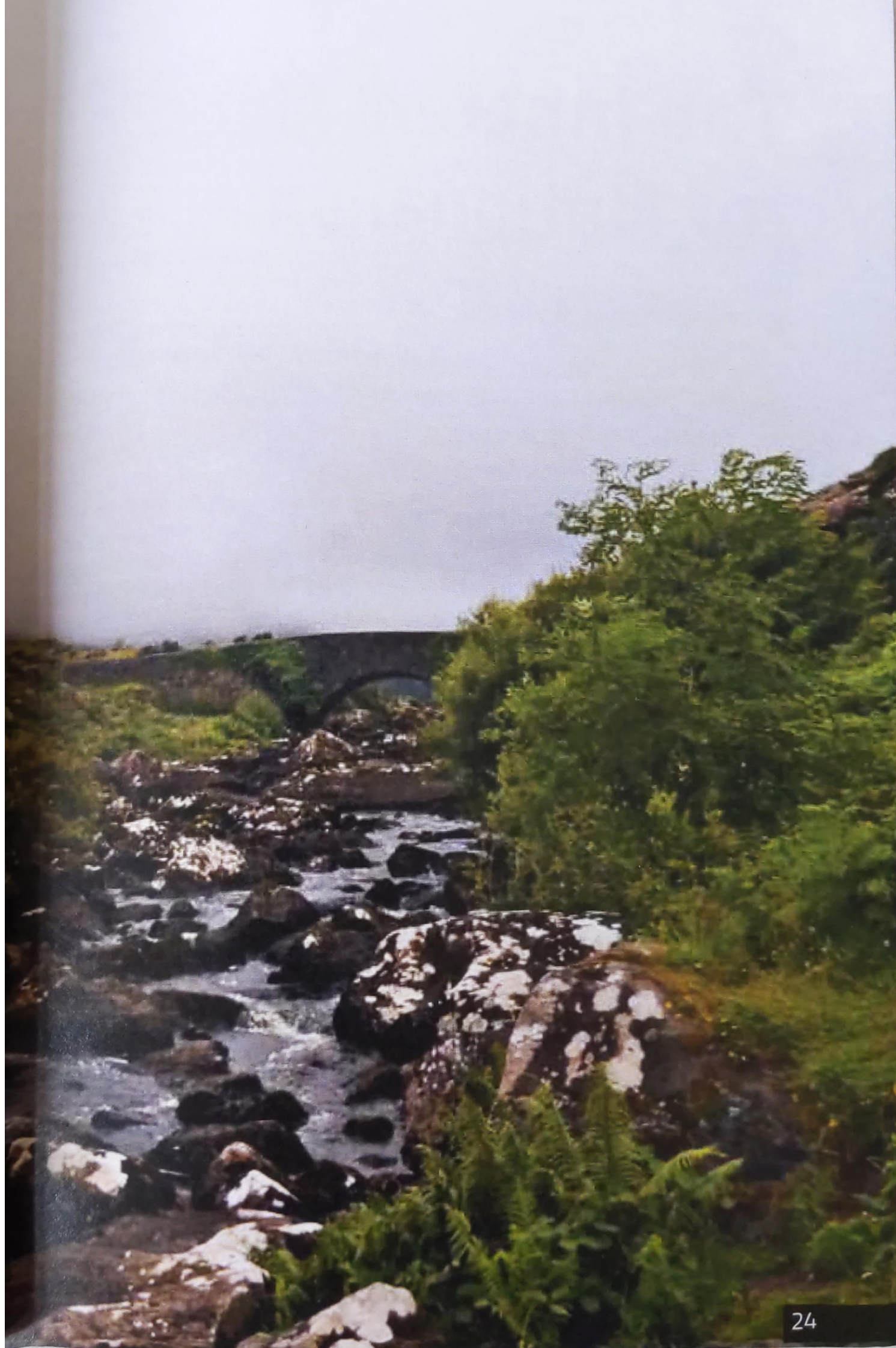
There were many times during the referendum campaign when deliberate lies were told, and in the long run most of them will be forgotten. The campaign was "rigged" in many ways but the final vote was not. In the last analysis we all know deep down what happened, the country was offered the death of the innocent as an option and grasped it with both hands.

However nothing is stasis. Times change, people change, whole generations come and go and in the words of the song "the loser now may be later to win."

But people, babies for the most part, but women as well, will be killed by the abortion industry as it moves its machinery of death to Ireland. Repeal of the repeal will bring no one back to life and there will have to be a reckoning, with the abortionists and their political facilitators. They will plead then that revenge solves nothing and may even appeal to the natural law they vehemently denied. If it's the National Party, they will have what the unborn child did not get, a fair trial, a defence counsel, and a considered verdict. There could be much worse for them, a vengeance that uses the recommendations of the 8th Committee as a template, and concludes "without restriction". ■



# Nationalism Forever



# The Inherent Need for Nationalism

The National Party

**"One scarcely knows whether modern sentimentalism or modern utilitarianism is the more sure sign of modern decadence." — P.H. Pearse**

Sitting down to write a piece on why nationalism represents an inherent need in human beings, I was at first beset with the thought of all the "postmodern" objections to this position. Predominantly the a-priori objection to the claim that

anything is inherent or innate. And I found myself running through my mind the complicated and exhausting permutations by which I could get my point across, even to a decadent modern.



Then I happened to browse The Irish Times on the morning after the 2018 Swedish general elections and I found to my surprise exactly the argument, albeit not nearly as strongly as I would have put it. But there it was in an opinion piece – entitled “Why does nationalism exude a seductive appeal?” – the argument that nationalism represents an inherent need in human beings. Or as David Thunder (researcher and lecturer at the University of Navarra’s Institute for Culture and Society), puts it: “The need to ground one’s life in a culturally cohesive, enduring community is an inescapable dimension of the human condition.” Two years on from Trump and Brexit we may be finally seeing a small concession to the nationalist position.

In any case, I need no longer despair that this argument will simply be dismissed. For it is so obvious that even The Irish Times has got in on the action. No doubt it was the sight of nationalism rising in their beloved Sweden that pushed them to it. The more successful these nationalist movements become in Europe and the more victories they lay at the feet of the gods, the more frequent these concessions to our way of seeing things will become. And the real challenge will no longer be getting our arguments across, but preventing the powers that be from co-opting those arguments for their own ends.

## Utilitarian Daydreams

Nationalism is the inherent position of human beings in a social

environment. All else is a reaction against it. To those who would contend that nationalism is merely an 18th or 19th century artefact, well... that may do for the “ism”. But the “ism” is merely a modern treatment of a fact that is eternal. And the root of the word “nation” is as old as written history. And the truth contained in the word is as old as a recognisable human nature.

Arthur Griffith expressed it perfectly when he paraphrased List, the German economic thinker, – “Between the individual and the universal stands the nation.” What we find in this aphorism is that thing which is missing from all intellectual fashions of our day. The component of perspective. And a fundamental understanding for the relationship of human beings to the world around them. The acknowledgment that some things are more important than other things. And that some facts are more important than other facts. And that some relationships are more important than other relationships. “Man is not born everyday,” Carl Jung once said. We are born into a specific historical and social context.

The modern rebuke to this, which we are so used to hearing, is the utilitarian/ new age humanist position which finds its most coherent expression in the Australian/ Jewish philosopher Peter Singer, particularly in his work *The Expanding Circle: Ethics, Evolution, and Moral Progress*. In it he asserts or advocates an expanding circle of empathy, where over time and with increasing

social complexity Mankind develops the ability to empathise with increasingly large groups of people and even eventually animals. Such that a little girl drowning in a pool of water in Africa should be as urgent to us as if it were occurring right in front of us. Stage by stage, in his treatise, we overcome our sense of the Other and embrace a more universal outlook.

Singer's philosophy famously led him to a position where he could not philosophically justify why his newly born child (not yet fully cognitively developed) was of more inherent value than his dog. This led the Trotskyite/ Neocon Christopher Hitchens to remark in a moment of rare insight: "My first thought was I wouldn't like to be his child. My second thought was I wouldn't like to be his dog."

Singer defines himself as a "hedonistic utilitarian", a branch of theory which "assumes that the rightness of an action depends entirely on the amount of pleasure it tends to produce and the amount of pain it tends to prevent." Singer is a clear example of the thinker for whom nothing stands between the individual and the universal. His is a rare attempt to justify at the level of pure rationality, the culture of openness to which modern Western countries have irrationally committed themselves. As such his conclusions are too blunt for most of his audience who would rather cloak these conclusions in emotionalism and high metaphor. For instance his views on abortion are unusually frank. He openly concedes that

abortion is killing and that many of the arguments made about the "fetus" apply equally well to the child after it is born. Therefore he argues in favour of post-birth abortions.

## Nationalist Realities

Divorced from the ability to make distinctions between in-groups and out-groups, friends and enemies, kinsmen and strangers, what is it that remains of us? If we are not prepared to make a judgement on who is Irish and who is not, then how do we even know we are Irish? What would settle the matter? What authority? Must we simply stand before eternity, our cultures and our selves open like a camera iris before a searing sun? Ready to be eviscerated in the white light of unprejudiced empathy? It is a position alien to all concepts of natural law or religious edict or even to basic sociological observations like the minimum group paradigm.

A world without prejudice is not merely a world without meaning. It is a world in which the possibility of defending oneself or one's family or one's community or one's property or one's anything is excluded. For there is no context, no perspective, no ground upon which to stand. Send a child out into the world with a view that empathy is unconditional and that child will come to grief very, very quickly.

Jack B. Yeats said that "When a socialist tells me patriotism is nonsense—I reply that is as if you told me all women were the same

even though one of them happened to be my own mother." Which itself is reminiscent of Albert Camus's line: "If that is justice then I choose my mother." Faced with a choice between justice and my mother, I choose my mother. Faced with a choice between family and justice I choose my family. Faced with a choice between Ireland and justice, I choose Ireland.

As for the rank sentimentalists who proclaim nationalism a hate crime and who condemn all prejudice as immoral, evil, vile... What is there to say in response? Let us merely wait and see what history shall say of them. Love is prejudiced just as much as hate. Pádraig Pearse articulated that about as well as anybody ever has in his essay *The Sovereign People*.

"The answer to this is first, that love and hate are not mutually antagonistic but mutually complementary; that love connotes hate, hate of the thing that denies or destroys or threatens the thing beloved: that love of good connotes hate of evil, love of truth hate of falsehood, love of freedom hate of oppression; that hate may be as pure and good a thing as love, just as love may be as impure and evil a thing as hate; that hate is no more ineffective and barren than love, both being as necessary to moral sanity and growth as sun and storm are to physical life and growth."

A moral understanding of the universe must be grounded in a local context. We must have firm ground upon which to stand and

a perspective by which to judge one thing more important than another. And contained in that is the implication that we must exclude what we are not if we are to be anything at all.

Man cannot stand naked before the universal. He must have a home, a community and a nationality. Under God if he so believes in God. He must understand that his family is more important than another man's family, that his community is more important than another man's community and that his nation is more important than another man's nation. For it means to him what it can mean to no stranger. In short, everything. And it is that "everything" that we defend and fight for when we advocate a policy of rooted nationalism. ■





# A People Full of Shame

William Newell

Throughout Europe and America there has grown in recent years an acute disease of self hatred and loathsomeness for the past of Europe. This is evident in many European countries but it is evident most particularly in our own homeland, where a false sense of national identity is flaunted only to mask an encroaching hatred of nation, culture and people. The tricolour that the Left drape over the

coffin of their own lifeless national sense is slowly melting and the reality is being revealed. The reality is that these intellectual goons, full of shame and remorse, cannot bear to look even for a second upon the glories of their own fatherland, but would prefer rather to drool over the great bastion states of progressive rot of Sweden, Germany and Canada. Do not be fooled by the false display of national pride presented by these cretins as they travel to America in their "Kiss Me I'm Irish" t-shirts and tie a tricolour around their shoulders

at every opportunity. It is a façade which masks a deep self-loathing and regret for the soil on which they and their ancestors were given birth to.

With Ireland, they associate "fundamentalist Catholicism", "ultraconservatism", a nationalism which must be beaten down at all costs, a religious sense which must be burnt to the ground, lest anyone (particularly the youth!) should dare to spark a revival of faith and national spirit in the homeland. Well ordered patriotic and religious fervour is anathematised by our media and political establishment; they insist that what remains of it be destroyed and that it must never again be permitted to sprout and grow. Dare I say that it was this same spirit which motivated some brave men of noble and honourable cause to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the national idea 102 years ago?

But they succeed. Indeed, our media and political establishment, decrepit and miserable as it is, has not conceded any great defeats in recent years, and the referendum of two months ago has given them a self confidence and sense of victory which most nationalists, in our time of crisis, sadly do not have. So why have they succeeded in their efforts to rip a glorious European nation of the self determination and grandeur proper to it? Was it the previous generation who sat by and allowed them to move in and take over? Those who, 20 years ago, sold themselves and future generations to the golden calf of soulless

materialism known as the Celtic Tiger? One would not be far wrong.

However, our problem lies deeper than the mistakes of a single generation. Indeed, this attitude of subjugation among our people has its root in 800 years of British imperial exploitation. Those 800 years – it was a massacre! A massacre of culture and of spirit. Ireland, which was destined to be a great European power, developing Her intellectual, philosophical and religious strength, spreading it throughout the whole continent by means of missionaries, became a slave of a neighbouring power. The national sense was effectively murdered, bar a generation here and there arising from the ashes, raising and carrying forward the standard of Irish national destiny and striking with valour and discipline for the freedom of the homeland. We are that generation today.

Most appropriate for this age is the statement from Pádraig Pearse's 25th December 1915 essay entitled "Ghosts", in which he says:

"There has been nothing more terrible in Irish history than the failure of the last generation. Other generations have failed in Ireland, but they have failed nobly; or, failing ignobly, some man among them has redeemed them from infamy by the splendour of his protest. But the failure of the last generation has been mean and shameful, and no man has arisen from it to say or do a splendid thing in virtue of which it shall be forgiven."

Since the early 1990s, Ireland has witnessed social and demographical change of a revolutionary nature, and by revolution I mean that which ought to be reacted against; a revolution which wraps chains around the people and makes false promises to them, promises of great material happiness and freedom. In many ways this can be said to be a Communist revolution.

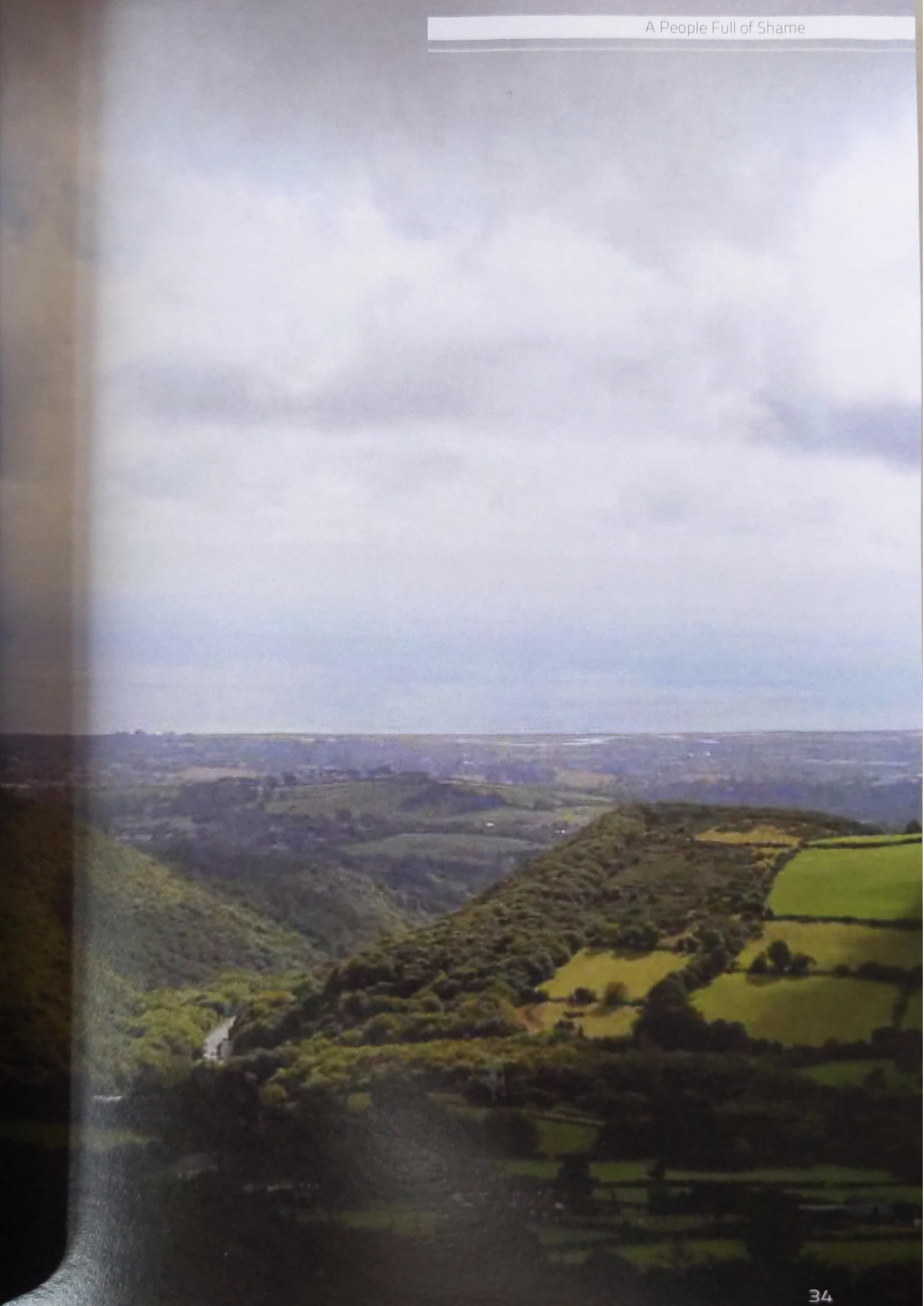
Yet, our traditional parties, much like those traditional parties of the post-WWI era, have failed to create a resilient barrier against such revolution. Rather, they have preferred to open the gates to it! At the same time the national broadcaster and other media have targeted our people with an endless flood of propaganda tailored to tear down the national pride of the individual Irishman, much like plaster being torn off a wall in preparation for its demolition.

On a daily basis the news media has not failed to provide us with some story of the horrors of the Ireland of the past, and how the generations before the last generation "allowed women to be placed in workhouses" and "allowed boys to be raped by Priests". It is engineered to plant in the minds of Irishmen and women the seed of shame and regret for the past, and a pitiful desire to build a progressive Ireland which, in reality, is not Ireland at all but rather is totally detached from everything which has ever made Ireland a nation in its own right. Thus, the issue of abortion was quickly turned into a vote on whether or not to reject Catholicism, as was the same sex marriage referendum

before it; both referenda made even worse as the outcome would not only lead to moral decay and, in the latter case, the deaths of thousands, but would also fuel the agenda of our vehemently anti-nationalist, anti-Catholic/Christian media establishment.

Today, our government uses the framework built by the British invaders to further tear down the Irish Nation. That framework is the lack of national pride, the lack of national self determination, the lack of belief in the capabilities of our own country, the submissive attitude ingrained into the minds of millions of Irish people by those who, hundreds of years ago, saw us as inferiors when we rather had the most glorious potential.

Yet, we must avoid a nationalism of victimhood. True Irish nationalism is founded not on a victim complex, and it is not to be found in the hat of he who begs for reparations from his oppressor, or for scraps from the table of his enemy. No, ours is a nationalism which respects our ancestors' immortal glory and seeks to emulate them in their struggles. We stand, we raise our flag and we advance not merely for our own desires but because, as Irishmen and Irishwomen, we know that our fatherland is capable of it. ■



# Fadhb na Teanga

## An Páirtí Náisiúnta

**A**n Gael fíor an té nach bhfuil an Ghaeilge aige? Ceist mhaith atá inti. Tá, ar ndóigh, an té gan Gaeilge thíos ar an té a bhfuil sí aige. Tig leis a bheith gaelach ar bhealach inteacht eile, áfach, bíodh sé ina iománaí nó ina staraí nó a leithéad. Is rud ilghnéitheach é. Ach muna bhfuil a theanga aige, ní féidir leis an aigne ghaelach a thuiscint ach ón taobh amuigh. Dhéarfainn féin go dtagann gach gné eile den tsaol gaelach ón teanga, mar, leis na céadta nó na mílte bliana anuas, is fríd an Ghaeilge a chuireadh síos ar gach gné den tsaol. Agus is fríd an chur síos sin a thuigimid an saol. De bharr sin is í an Ghaeilge an ghné is tábhachtaí den tsaol ilghnéitheach gaelach.

Is ceart agus is cóir go raibh agus go mbeidh an lámh in uachtar ag an tsaol gaelach in Éirinn, agus is fríd an teanga, croílár an chultúir sin, a mbuailfear an fhís amach. Ach níl aon dul chun cinn déanta ag an tSaorstát óna bhunadh go dtí an lá atá inniu ann chun í a chochú agus a fhorbairt i measc an phobail. Faraor, tá an mhalairt déanta! Is léir nár thuig nó nach raibh suim ag na fir ar tugadh an tasc an teanga a athbheochan dóibh.

Ar an chéad dul síos bhí an fhealsúnacht chontráilte acu. Cad is fiú an Ghaeilge a fhoghlaim nuair

is annamh an deis a bhíonn ag an ghnáthé úsáid a bhaint astí? Nuair atá an gnáthshaol go hiomlán galldaithe? Is sa scoil ar a chuirtear seo in iúl don chéad uair ar an ghael óg. Ní téann ach an corrghael go Gaelscoil, is gallscoil é an rogha don tromlach. Sa ghallscoil teagasctar an teanga dhúchais mar theanga ghallda, i gcónaí in íochtar ar an Bhéarla agus ar chomhchéim leis an Fhrancais nó leis an Spáinnis. Teanga gan tábhacht ar féidir leis an Ghael dearmad a dhéanamh uirthi a luaithe a bhfuil a scruiduithe críochnaithe aige.

Cad chuige nach ndéarnadh gach scoil ina Gaelscoil ar bunadh an tSaorstáit? Scoil ina bhfuil teanga na nGael in uachtar ar theanga na ngall i mblianta múnlaithreach an dalta. Is iad blianta na scolaíochta na blianta is tábhachtaí ina shaol. Na blianta inár tógadh a dhearcadh ar an tsaol. Agus is sna blianta rithábhachtaí seo a múintear don Ghael nach bhfuil ina theanga dhúchas ach scrúdú ag deireadh a chúrsa.

Tógtar caisleáin de réir a chéile, ach tógtar ar bhonn maith iad. Is léir nach bhfuil straitéis na Gaeilge an tSaorstáit ag feidhmniú mar ba cheart mar níor tógadh ar bhonn maith í. Ní féidir an Ghaeilge a athbheochan ón drochbhonn seo atá againn. Leathiaracht a bhí i gcónaí ar bun ag an tSaorstáit. Mar atá luaite thuas bhí an fhealsúnacht mícheart acu. Bhí an Sasana mar bhé do dhealbhóirí an tSaorstáit

agus rinneadh Éire i ndiaidh a íomha. Níl Éire an lae inniu Éireannach; níl sí gaelach fiú. Níl raison d'être ag an Ghaeilge muna bhfuil sí suite i gcultúr gaelach; má tá Éire ghallda, má tá ár n-ainmneacha gallda, má tá nósanna agus grásanna gallda againn, má tá dearcadh gallda againn, cad chuige nach mbeadh teanga ghallda againn chomh maith? Tá rogha againn. Géillimis agus béimis inár náisiún de Shasanaigh aithrise, an lámh in íochtar go deo, á leanúint go suarach i ndiaidh ár máistir, ag déanamh é a chóipeáil i ngach dóigh. I bhfocail eile: Éire ghalldaithe ina hiomlán, an drochshaol atá ag tarraingt orainn, diaidh ar ndiaidh. Dá nglacfeadh muid leis an rogha seo, bíodh sé ina iomlán nó ina leathchuid, le díograis nó le patuaire, mhúchfaí solas an tsaoil, agus mhúchfaí Éire ina theannta.

An rogha eile. Éire inar féidir cultúr na nGael a fhorbairt mar ba chóir is ba cheart. Éire ina bhfuil a teanga i mbéal an phobail arís. Éire ina bhfuil a muintir in uachtar agus ní in íochtar; agus muintir bhródúil ghaelach is saor iad, ní cloíte coimhthíoch is daor. Ó thus a n-óige bheadh muintir na hÉireann tumtha i nGaeloideachas, oideachas a bheadh bunaithe ní ar spadhair na maorlathaithe nua aimseartha ach ar idéil uaisle na nGael i mbarr a maitheasa: i ndóigh is i gcruth an córas oideachais a rug orainn ár laochra maorga ónár stair ársa go dtí ár mbriseadh.

Ní fiú faic é cultúr na nGael, nó tír na nGael, gan a dteanga, ach tá an teanga as feidhm muna bhfuil

cultúr gaelach ann go dtiocfadh léi cruth a thabhairt dó. Is fríd chóras oideachais ríghaelaigh amháin, ina bhfuil cultúr agus teanga na nGael múnlaith ar an ógánach go smior, a gheobhaidh muid deis deireadh a chur le feall na ngall is Ord Nua Gaelach a thógáil ina áit. ■

# The Language Problem

## The National Party

Is a true Gael one who speaks Gaeilge? A good question. The one without the language is, of course, at a disadvantage to the one with. He may be more Gaelic in other ways, however, be it through hurling, history, or some other thing. It is multifaceted. But without his language, how can our Gael understand the Gaelic world as anything other than an outsider? I would personally maintain that every other aspect of the Gaelic world is derived from the language, because, for hundreds or thousands of years to this day, it is through that language that every facet of life was thus described. And it is through that description that the Gaelic life is made intelligible. Thus the Irish language is the most important facet of the multifaceted Gaelic life.

It is right and just that the Gaelic life had and will have the upper hand in Ireland, and it is through the language, the beating heart of that culture, that the vision be realised. However, from its foundation to the current year the Free State has made no progress instilling or developing the language in public life, rather, it has done the opposite! It is clear that the projects of Irish revivalism were neither understood

nor valued by the men to whom the task was given.

From the beginning the philosophy of the language project was backwards. What is the use of learning Irish when there is no ordinary use for it? When daily life is completely Anglicised? It is in school that this is inscribed upon our young Gael for the first time. Only a small fraction of the populace attend Gaelscoils, the overwhelming majority attend English medium schools. In the English schools the native language is taught as a foreign one, always inferior to English and on equal footing with French or Spanish; little more than an irritant which can be safely discarded come the end of exams.

Why was every school not converted to a Gaelscoil after the foundation of the Free State? A school wherein the Irish language had priority over the foreign during the most formative years of our students? The years a person spends in schools are the most important of their lives. The years in which they develop their worldview. Despite this, in these all-important years what we teach the young Gael is that their native language amounts to little more than an exam at the end of their course.

The strategy of revival was always going to be a long-term endeavour. It is clear that the Free State's strategy for Irish is not functioning as it should. The reasons are obvious, the philosophical foundations upon which it was built were inherently flawed. No structure could be built on the poor foundations upon which this strategy, if it can be called a strategy, was built. From the beginning the Free State has always proceeded by half measures. England was the model for those who gave the Free State its shape and that Ireland was made in England's image.

The Ireland of today isn't Irish, not to mention Gaelic. The language has no *raison d'être* unless it is within a gaelic culture; but if Ireland is anglicised, if our names are anglicised, if our habits and manners are foreign, if we have foreign worldviews, why wouldn't we have a foreign language as well?

We are faced with a choice. We can submit and be as a nation of imitation Englishmen, always their inferior, always following pathetically our master, playing catch up to his every trend, good and bad. In other words: a totally anglicised Ireland, that land of discontent that is slowly drawing upon us, slowly but surely. If we accept this, in full or only in part, in enthusiasm or in apathy, the light of life will be extinguished and Ireland alongside.

But we have another choice. An Ireland in which the Gaelic culture can be nurtured and developed as is right and just. An Ireland whose

native tongue is the common parlance once more. An Ireland in which Irish people are privileged to live, proud and free, rather than a people bowing and broken to foreign ways. An Ireland whose youth are immersed in the gaelic way, in an education system based not on the whims of the modern bureaucrat, but on the superior and noble ideals of Gaelic Ireland at her peak: on the foundations that produced our exalted heroes from the annals of ancient history until our undoing.

The culture of the Gaels, or, for that matter, the country of the Gaels, is worth less than nothing without its language, but the language has no place in a foreign culture. It is only by way of an exceedingly and fully Gaelic system of education, in which the language and culture are impressed upon the young Gael, that the doubly-treacherous system of foreign influence can be eradicated and a truly Gaelic social order implemented. ■

# Against Americanisation

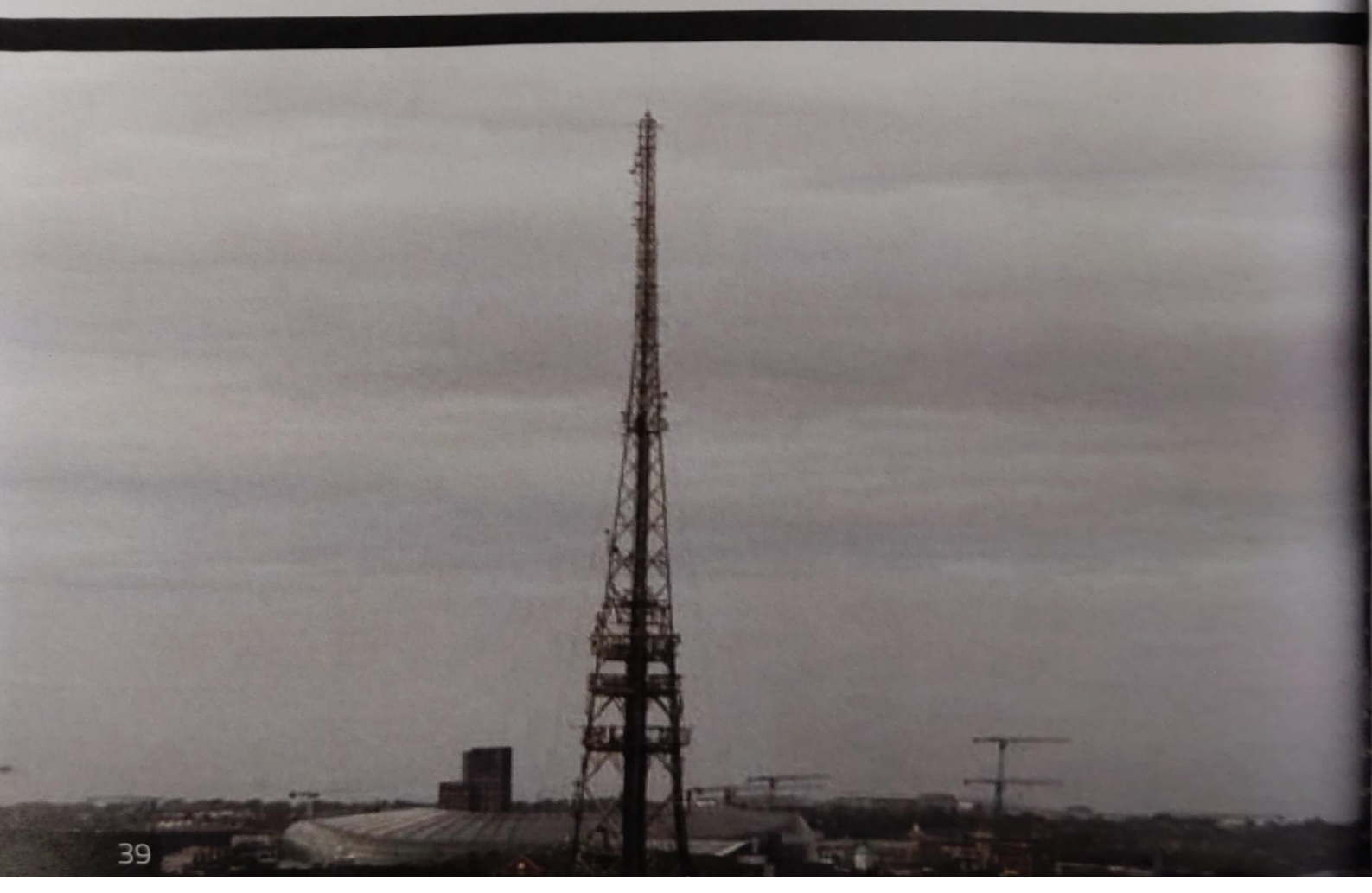
## The National Party

The process of Americanisation is one of the main staples of globalisation. As Irish nationalists, it's imperative that we understand this process, as it is one of the main causes of national dissolution in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Americanisation is seemingly omnipresent in contemporary Ireland; the fruits of Americanisation

can be found in the films we watch, the food we consume, and the music we listen to. Our regional accents have become less and less differentiated over time, leading to an increase in the prevalence of the South Dublin accent throughout the country – an accent which derives, to a degree, from American films and music in the latter half of the twentieth century. This dilution of local accents has led to a sense of loss of regional uniqueness.

While the Americanisation of Ireland,



and the world more broadly, has occurred since the beginning of the twentieth century (Jazz music being the most obvious example of early Americanisation), it has increased exponentially in the last few decades due to the advent of technology such as television and, more recently, the Internet, both of which hold vast sway over the culture of the global populous; it can be said that much of contemporary Irish culture is simply either Americanised global culture or a shoddy imitation of it.

Calling our contemporary culture 'Irish' would be unintentionally dishonest; the culture of this land is anything but Irish, it has no real link to our cultural inheritance. Modern deracinated Irish culture lacks identity, uniqueness and a sense of self because it does not place its own authentic cultural forms above foreign forms. Contemporary culture is deeply alienating because it does not relate to us on an ethnic level.

Any ethnic culture which does not, through moderate ethno-cultural chauvinism, relegate foreign culture to a secondary position will end up reduced to cultural aimlessness. Our ethno-cultural inheritance forms the base of authentic native culture— it provides an inheritance which gives us a solid grounding on a cultural level, and which we can look to for inspiration on how to move forward in a way which is authentic, culturally speaking, to us as a nation. Without a firm ethno-cultural foundation, we walk aimlessly towards the future, grasping at whatever fleeting foreign cultural forms pique our interest, unable to create anything

that authentically reflects us, because only our cultural tradition can give us the basis from which genuine Irish culture can emerge. A Nation emerges organically from past precedent, as does its culture.

It is hard to find anything positive to say about the process of Americanisation that has taken place. It appears obvious that the trajectory of this phenomenon has and will continue to lead to Irish culture becoming a cheap imitation of the latest cultural exports from America. In his 1892 lecture 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', Douglas Hyde called Ireland a "nation of imitators" – unfortunately, this is truer today than it was back then.

Our authentic cultural inheritance has, to varying degrees, been relegated to an anachronistic position in the minds of the modern Irish people; it is viewed as stale and old, something which should be left in the dustbin of history, along with all else modern enlightened liberals associate with old Ireland.

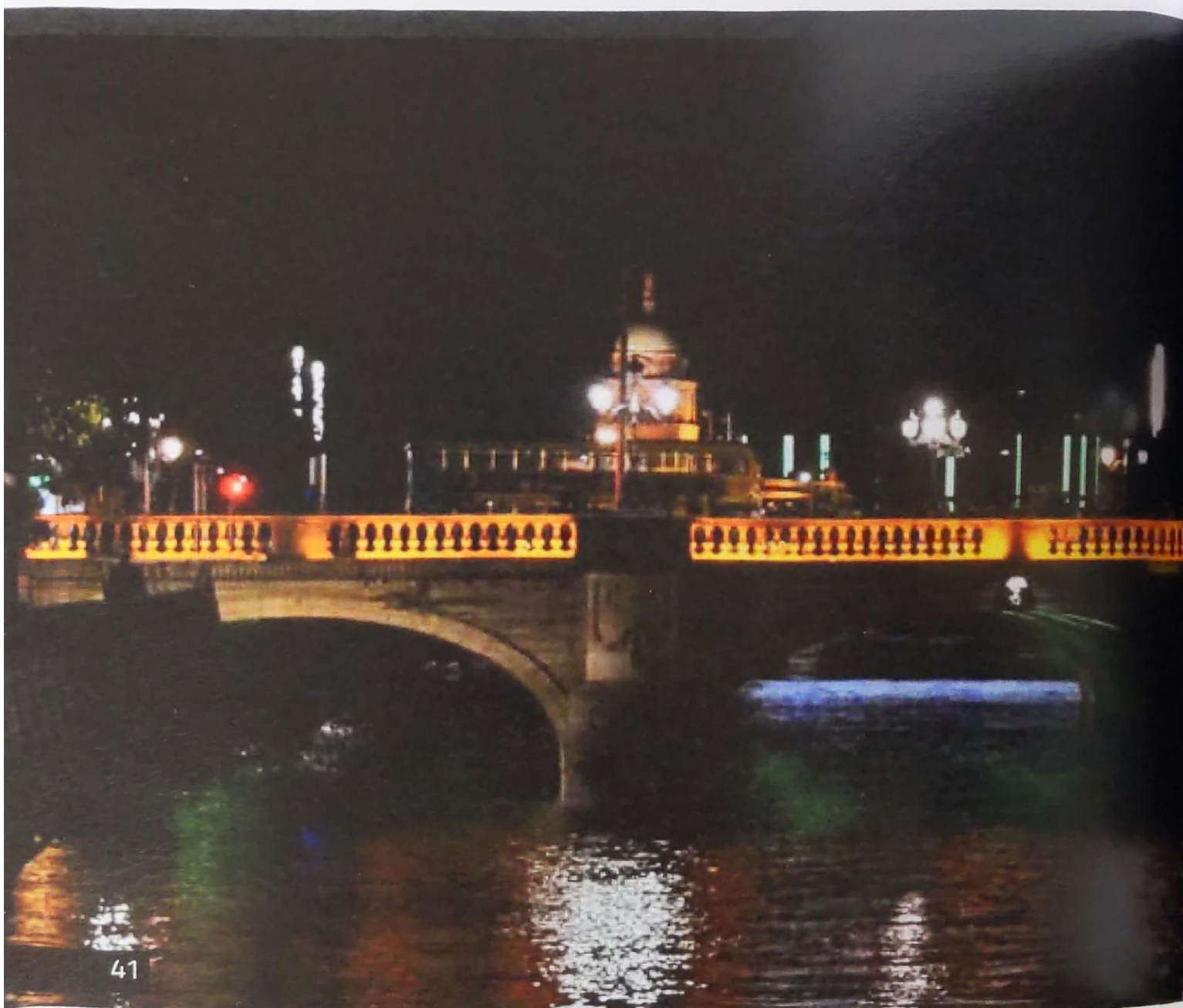
When liberals speak of "old Ireland", they're speaking euphemistically of an Irish Ireland – it becomes apparent that their position is motivated by a national pathology, that of Irish ethnic self-hatred. This pathological attitude has deep roots in this country, it's the same attitude which motivates the classic Irish archetypal figure of the 'West Brit'. A pathology which looks on all that is Irish as negative and parochial, and all that is foreign as enlightened and progressive. In terms of their attitude towards Ireland, the only

thing that separates the 'West Brit' from the view of the current Irish elite, is that the 'West Brit' looks to Britain as the paragon of culture, while contemporary Ireland looks to the United States – therefore, it would be apt to refer to the latter group as 'East Yanks'.

Against the attitude of self-denigration that has infected our nation, I call for a re-awakening of faith in ourselves as a nation. Only this can reverse the assimilation of our land into the barren wasteland of global American culture. Prior

to all attempts at actualising a Gaelic Ireland, we must first regain national faith. Even the revival of our national language depends upon a re-ignition of national faith. The re-ignition of this faith will provide the impetus for moving towards a truly Gaelic culture.

Gaelic Ireland should be viewed as a prospect to move towards rather than something to be merely preserved. Our embrace of our cultural traditions and inheritance should not be interpreted as a belief in the culturally stagnating act of



maintaining tired and old forms ad infinitum; our traditions and inheritance should be viewed as the springboard from which we launch towards new forms. We need to develop an attitude which keeps faith with the past, but which also moves towards the future through new forms and approaches; in sum, a dynamic traditionalism.

Ultimately, this struggle against the phenomenon of Americanisation is a struggle for Ireland, for an Ireland which is both culturally and economically prosperous - an

Ireland which can face the world and be proud to call itself a nation. I used a quote critical of the Irish propensity towards imitation from Douglas Hyde in this article - so it is only fitting that I end this article with another, far more inspiring and less sombre, quote from the same lecture: "upon Irish lines alone can the Irish race once more become what it was of yore - one of the most original, artistic, literary, and charming peoples of Europe". ■



# Ireland: The Harlot of the World

## The National Party

Pearse quoted Geoffrey Keating in saying that Ireland was "the harlot of England". When I look around and see what has befallen this once great land this seems, even hundreds of years later, to ring eerily true. Well, except for one part. If Ireland was England's harlot, you could now say that England is no longer the exclusive customer, and Ireland's honour is up for sale to the whole world.

When Rusal (a Russian aluminum company) searched the nations of the world looking for the one most lacking in basic honour, the one most depraved and desperate as to accept their exceptionally large and hideous industrial malefaction, they found none willing to stoop so low, none willing to commit such a reckless dereliction, none, except Ireland - The Harlot of the World.

This gross desecration of the land of our ancestors, now sits in prime position, on the banks of the Shannon, pluming smoke from large towers and threatening to leak 400 acres of toxic red material into the Shannon Estuary. It makes me sick to look upon it, and angry at those who facilitated it. It caused me to think more deeply about who was

responsible and motivated me to write this article.

This may be just one example, but it is symbolic of the reckless violation of our nation on the altar of money. The Irish State has, for many decades been commandeered by a rootless self-interested class, who do not consider their roles as stewards of a nation, but as managers of an economy and hence the positive demolishers of a nation.

This class is willing to stoop to any depravity, to sacrifice any element of Irish Nationhood, any ounce of Irish honour on the dinner-plate of ravenous financial vultures. These parasites who have whored out the Irish nation will be acted against, but realising we have ourselves to blame for letting this cancer take root is an unpleasant but essential truth. We have allowed this, but we can stop this.

"Men who have ceased to be men cannot claim the rights of men; and men who have suffered themselves to be deprived of their manhood have suffered the greatest of all indignities and deserved the most shameful of all penalties." — P.H. Pearse

Ireland has stepped out of poverty, but poverty can, in those genuinely

unworthy of it, engender ambition, in those deserving of their state it creates desperate harlots. The Irish were enslaved and impoverished, but only because of their willingness to be and their unwillingness to unite. This tendency has continued to manifest evidently, and Ireland has not found freedom or success, but merely a new form of enslavement. We have "stepped out" of one tyranny, but sleepwalked into a new one.

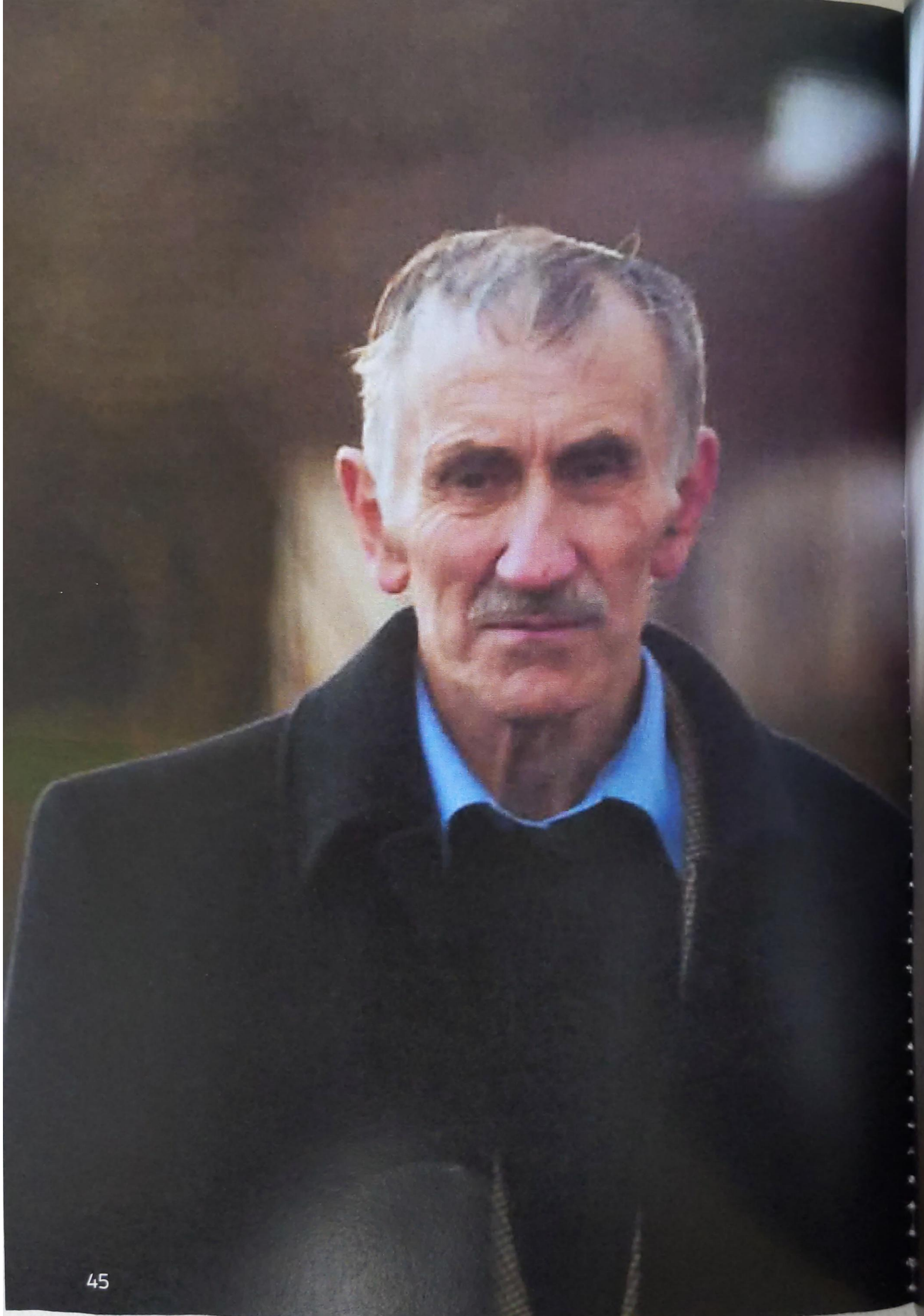
How could one believe a nation to be prosperous when its own people cannot own the land of their ancestors without entering lifelong debt slavery, when its own language is on the verge of extinction, when its media is colonised by an anti-national force seeping a corrosive foreign mind-virus into the minds of its citizens, when its own race is

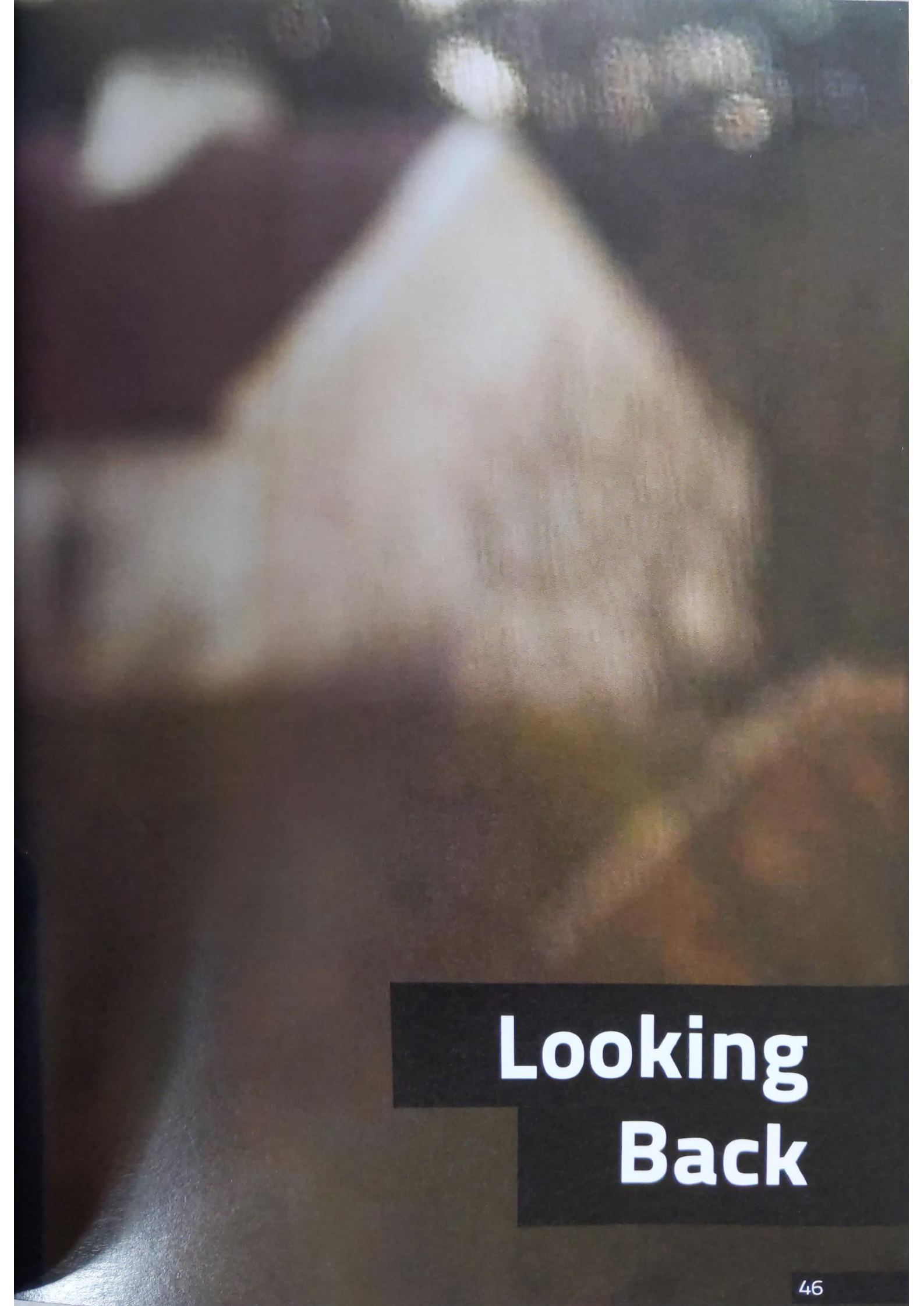
being systematically replaced. Only by the most trivial of terms could this be viewed as "prosperity". The Irish State and the Irish Economy are entities, which exist not to serve Ireland's people but to serve International Finance Capitalism, and hence to enslave the Irish people and destroy the Irish Nation.

The National Party envisions leaders as not economic managers, but fathers of a nation, and inheritors of an ancient and sacred tradition which is to be guarded above all else, and which will be sacrificed for nothing.

It is our duty to stand not on the comings or goings of material prosperity but on the solid bedrock of Ireland's eternal honour, which will be defended to the death and sacrificed for nothing. ■







# Looking Back

# Ireland First

Gerry Kinneavy

The steady and shameful decline in the value our political establishment places on our national sovereignty, identity, and self-respect has been all too obvious in recent years.

Only a couple of years ago, politicians from all the established parties, in breathtaking display of crass hypocrisy had the gall to commemorate the 1916 Rising and those who participated in it. The fact that the ideals that inspired the 1916 Rising and subsequent

war of independence have been completely and contemptuously discarded by the contemporary political establishment and replaced by a craven surrender to the forces of the EU and globalism, seems to have escaped the notice of today's politicians. Of course, there is always the possibility that they are aware of the contradiction, but couldn't care less, as their lack of decency, dignity and respect enables them to operate without inhibition.

One of the most nauseating characteristics of today's politicians, is their insatiable clawing for approval from Brussels, Berlin or



indeed practically any external source. The old slave mentality that we must be guided and approved by outsiders, due to inadequacy, not only survives but it thrives and festers.

The current Brexit controversy and negotiations provide another example of this. While any Irish government worthy of the name must strive to do its utmost of look after Irish interests, the manner in which our current government frequently behaves makes me cringe.

I, and many others have waited a long time to hear an establishment politician use the slogan "Ireland First" in public. At last it has come about, but the words were not uttered by an Irish politician but by Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council. The context of Mr. Tusk putting "Ireland First" was in relation to putting Ireland's interests ahead of those of Britain in the ongoing Brexit negotiations. Naturally such a stance by Donald Tusk and the EU is to be welcomed in relation to a process in which Ireland could suffer considerable economic damage in the event of an unfavorable outcome of the negotiations.

However, before we get too carried away by the EU's solidarity with our cause, we should take a look at the broader picture and ask ourselves a few questions. For a start: can this be the same EU who just a few years ago, imposed a savagely harsh economic punishment on Ireland as a condition of getting a bailout? One

of the conditions was the absolute insistence on the repayment of over 60 billion euro to unsecured bondholders who gambled and lost. Where was "Ireland First" then?

Is this the same EU who force us to take in vast numbers of non-nationals, including thousands of so called "asylum seekers" even though thousands of our own people are unemployed and/or homeless?

Is this the same EU that displayed such utter contempt for the democratically expressed wishes of the Irish people in both the Nice and Lisbon referendums?

Is this the same EU whose endless rules, regulations, and bureaucracy have driven numerous small Irish companies out of business over the years to the advantage of huge multinationals? (A deliberate strategy).

They have even gone so far as to prevent Irish people harvesting turf from their own bogs, as their ancestors had done for generations.

Where is "Ireland First" in all of the above?

While the Irish government is absolutely obliged to oppose Britain's Brexit plans in any situation where Irish interests are threatened, the sight of the Taoiseach, in particular, puffing out his chest and issuing strict warnings and threats to Britain as though he was a real nationalist, is embarrassing in the extreme, when one realises that his confidence derives solely from

the fact that he is doing so from beneath the protective wing of his EU masters, and that at a snap of the fingers from those same masters he would do a complete about turn on practically any issue. (The refusal to lower the rate of corporation tax, so far, is about the only instance of an Irish government in recent times, resisting EU bullying).

It never seems to occur to Varadkar, Coveney etc that they ought to reflect on the EU's motives for suddenly becoming Ireland's friend and protector.

If Ireland doesn't follow orders, the imperialist commission will set out to bully it into submission as it did in Greece, and it intends with Hungary and Poland and presumably with the Italians also. The Irish Government does not seem to realise that they are being used by the EU imperialists to

1: Bully Britain into reversing its decision to leave.

2: Frighten and intimidate other member countries who may have thoughts of leaving, into changing their minds.

Despite the many historical injustices inflicted on this country by Britain, there are several things we must not lose sight of, for better or worse, they are our nearest neighbour, and one of our biggest, maybe our biggest trading partner. This means that Ireland has more interaction with Britain at all levels than with any other country. Without forgetting for a moment, the

conflicts of the past commonsense and pragmatism dictate that we remain on the best possible terms with Britain, without yielding an inch in relation to our position in the Brexit negotiations. If we do decide to pick a quarrel with Britain, let it be about worthwhile issues, such as the continued partition of our country. In that context the bullish behaviors of Varadkar and his government might be considered admirable.

In the present situation they are simply being used by their EU masters in the role of "useful fools" to ratchet up pressure on Britain. The eagerness, enthusiasm and naivety, with which they fulfill this role, in a blustering, unrestrained, over the top manner, simply to get their masters' approval makes for a ridiculous and pathetic spectacle.

The deeply embarrassing behaviour of the Irish government (and most opposition parties), not only in relation to Brexit negotiations but also in relation to a wide range of social and moral issues is the direct consequence of abandoning national sovereignty, identity and pride in return for limited economic benefits and assurance that we are now "a modern, progressive country".

It is a lamentable situation that can only be reversed when we have a truly patriotic nationalist government, whose actions and motives can never be suspect.

Only then, will the slogan "Ireland First" have real meaning. ■



# PESCO: Meaning and Mechanisms

## The National Party

On the 7th of December 2017, Dáil Éireann approved, 75 to 42, for Ireland to join the PESCO (permanent structured cooperation) initiative promising deeper EU cooperation on military affairs, with Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil voting in favour, with all others opposing.

Broadly speaking, it would be neither hyperbolic nor hysterical to state flatly that the PESCO agreement marks the effective end of the long held policy of Irish neutrality. It'll save us all a lot of time if we put aside our political caps for a moment and objectively analyse the contents of the agreement, as it could not be said to simply ameliorate or slightly undermine whatever residual neutrality remained to us to claim, it utterly abolishes it, despite the protestations of Europhilic apparatchiks.

The treaty contains the following broad points:

- A framework for future joint military operations outside of the EU
- Pooling of military equipment and joint training exercises
- Joint military research and

development projects (which Ireland may opt-out of)

- Standardisation of equipment being produced and purchased within the EU
- Regular increases in defence spending
- Cooperation on cyber defence
- Improving the interoperability, availability and deployability of treaty states with one another and with NATO forces
- A commitment to developing a fast tracked decision making process to approve measures covered by the treaty including reviewing domestic procedures if necessary
- A national implementation plan to be submitted to the European Council
- An annual strategic review by an EU panel on the progress of implementation and compliance with Treaty objectives

Tánaiste Simon Coveney claimed in the opening address of the Dáil debate that, due to the opt-in/out nature of future military operations for treaty states, that Irish neutrality wouldn't be affected. Considering

Ireland has already been involved in joint European operations in the Mediterranean, along with our participation in the EU for training missions in Chad, it would be a bald faced lie to say Irish soldiers haven't already been involved in EU directed military missions, hidden under the aegis of "humanitarianism" or "peacekeeping", the fact is, the bullets are real regardless of what title you'd like to give it. The Korean War was a "police action", after all, and it would be no stretch of the imagination to foresee an EU "humanitarian intervention" in Libya, given that ISIS is regrouping there, in the vacuum created by EU/NATO powers. Most pertinently however, the treaty contemplates cooperation with NATO, but no other organisation, clearly locking signatories into the NATO/Atlanticist axis of global politics, which is, needless to say, irreconcilable with a policy of neutrality.

In any case, the material facts outside of this treaty speak volumes in themselves, which are neatly summed up by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI):

"[Recent signals have been] suggesting that the EU is now moving towards deeper defence cooperation. Among these signals are:

Mogherini's Implementation Plan focusing on Security and Defence, building on the EU Global Strategy. On this basis, the European Council agreed in December 2016, March and May 2017, to:

- 1) Deepen defence cooperation among the member states, including through the launch of a voluntary Coordinated Annual Review on Defence to enhance transparency and better synchronise member states defence planning through a yearly review to be conducted by the European Defence Agency;

- 2) The initial future governance structure of the Permanent Structured Cooperation, following its establishment, based on articles 42.6 and 46 and protocol 10 of the Treaties on the European Union;

- 3) To establish, as a short term objective, a Military Planning and Conduct Capability within the EU Military Staff of the European External Action Service (EEAS) which will assume the command over the EU's non-executive military missions (i.e. not military operations), currently three EU training missions in the Central African Republic, Mali and Somalia; and

- 4) Review the financial mechanism to facilitate the deployment of Battlegroups. The Council decided to review the Athena mechanism for the Battlegroups, to ensure rapid financing and ultimately deployment of the battlegroups.

The adoption of an EU-NATO Joint Declaration for cooperation on hybrid threats, operational cooperation, cyber security, defence capabilities, industry and research, exercises and capacity building. A first brief progress report on the implementation of the Joint Declaration included the first EU-

NATO staffs exercise in response to a hybrid scenario and a commitment from the EU to contribute to NATO's Capacity Building Programme aimed at strengthening good governance in the defence and security sectors.

The creation of a European Defence Fund, allocating €5.5 billion per year to defence research (directly from the EU budget) and capability development (co-financing from the EU budget). Although the fund has been agreed, it will not entail any new money and it has not been decided where the money will be taken from.

The launch of a reflection paper by the European Commission, laying out three possible future scenarios of EU CSDP depending on the level of ambition by member states: Defence & Security Cooperation; Shared Security & Defence; and Common Defence & Security."

Further take into account the Defence (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009, which states that any joint military action taken under Article 42 of the Lisbon treaty (which outlines the EU Common Security and Defence Policy) must be in line with U.N. objectives and is subject to Dáil approval. So essentially, there's a requirement to promise the sitting government jobs in Brussels after their term, and pay lip service to intentionally malleable concepts such as "defending human rights and democracy", before Irishmen bleed in the service of foreign powers on foreign soil.

The decision to join PESCO is

perhaps the culmination of years of undercutting Irish neutrality with the Irish Defence Forces having gradually started partaking in training exercises with NATO troops. Indeed the use of the Irish Navy in Operations Pontius and Sophia in essence ferrying migrants from the Mediterranean to Italian ports can just as much be seen as another step in the gradual integration of our defence forces into an EU wide defence initiative. Of perhaps particular note for those of us critical of this deployment are findings presented last July in a report to the UK House of Lords highlighting the shortcomings of the venture in merely incentivising the flow of people in less seaworthy vessels and on the whole contributing to the 43% rise in deaths seen in 2016.

As Irish nationalists of a particular anti-globalist bent we can plainly see this decision as yet another milestone in the subsuming of Irish sovereignty into an EU wide system of legislative and political control. The very fact that segments of the Irish Defence Forces may welcome this decision as potentially overturning the sheer lack of investment in our defence is an indictment of successive governments' to contemplate the defence of our country in a realistic manner. A nationalist government would regard those who take up the mantle of defending our country with the seriousness they deserve and will not outsource our defence to foreign and increasingly transnational powers. The arguments of left wing parties in objecting to this decision is made hallow by the fact they are

equally as committed to the policies of globalism and the gradual erosion of decision making properties from the Irish people and their elected representatives. The PESCO decision is perhaps the first result of the geopolitical imbalance caused by the UK's scheduled departure from the EU and the certain degree of euro-realism it brought to the table. In future we should very much expect the ongoing trend of centralisation and euro federalism to intensify jeopardising the FDI dependent economic model that Ireland has embraced as well as binding us to an ever increasingly detached European superstate.

In conclusion, if one scrutinises the legal texts, allocation of funds, geopolitical maneuverings and politicians' rationalisations,

or even blatant statements by leaders desiring an EU army, the only rational conclusion is that the EU is being marshalled to organise itself as a NATO subsidiary, with the principal of "ever closer union" in military as well as civilian affairs, to provide the American/Atlanticist power with more men to throw into conflicts in the Middle East, or, God forbid, a direct confrontation with Russia, to wit, any hot blooded Irishman can only reply "we serve neither Eurocrat nor Wall St., but Ireland!". ■





# Lisdoonvarna: Ongoing Concerns

George Lambert

In the spring of this year our town Lisdoonvarna was changed overnight. In a secret deal planned between the Department of Justice and the White Hotel Group (a business owned by Marcus White, a man previously convicted by the Lisdoonvarna District Court of employing non-nationals who did not have permits to work in Ireland) had secretly planned to turn one of White Hotels into a Direct Provision Centre (DPC) to house 115 immigrants, part of a far larger group who have been previously refused the right to stay in the UK.

In response to this leaked secret deal, a meeting was arranged and attended by local residents and business owners. It was also attended by officials from the Department of Justice. For whatever the reason the officials sent to attend by the government did their very best to mislead the locals on what actually was to happen and anyone voicing concerns about the large influx of migrants were accused of being racist by the small group of pro DPC supporters.

At a second meeting the same issues were still of major concern

to the Lisdoonvarna residents as clearly the Department of Justice staff had not reassured the local population in any way. So a third meeting with a simple yes or no vote was arranged. At the third and final meeting, officials from the Department of Justice failed to attend and consequently the vote was called.

Marcus White of the White Hotel Group had stated on radio that if the vote went against a DPC being opened in his hotel he would not go ahead with the plan, assuring listeners that he was a "man of his word". The vote took place with a large majority of the people attending the meeting voting against the DPC being opened in Lisdoonvarna. Marcus White went ahead and signed the deal.

The plan was that the asylum seekers would arrive in groups. Unfortunately it seems the small rural town of Lisdoonvarna is not to everyone's taste with two of the first batch going on the run in their first week, only being stopped at the town bus stop and returned to the DPC by an Garda Síochána. Since then it has been reported by local radio that a further 15 of the first group of asylum seekers have left, and to quote the radio report have

"found alternative accommodation."

The Department of Justice stated that the asylum seekers would comprise young women and young families but this is not the case, as I have seen groups of young men of Asian descent walking into the town centre from the DPC and elderly neighbours of mine have spoken of being intimidated by groups of migrants while walking around our town. Now we have migrant adults on courses organised by the Public Participation Organisation being held at our senior school in disregard of National Vetting Bureau (Children and Vulnerable Persons) Acts 2012-2016 as these courses

are being scheduled to take place in classrooms during school hours.

Lisdoonvarna has been changed for the worse by a secretly planned project by the State to put a Direct Provision Centre into our town.

Multiculturalism is a failed concept, we only have to look to the UK, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Sweden, this list could go on and on, all are suffering serious issues in major population centres caused by unregulated migration with the threat of terrorist attack now an everyday concern in many major European countries due to their open door policies.



There is however a chance that the invasion of our country and suppression of our culture can be stopped, it might be no coincidence that the nation that broke the Turkish Empire's invasion of Europe at the siege of Vienna in 1683 have refused to allow mass migration into their country. Poland's government have listened to the majority and despite pressure from the EU have refused to allow mass migration across their borders with Hungary and the Czech Republic going down the same road.

I believe the National Party is the only party that holds true to the age

old age belief in Ireland as a Nation and the Irish as a people, I believe the National Party is the only party willing to listen to ordinary Irish men and woman and challenge the madness brought to Lisdoonvarna and Ireland by the liberal left ideas of multiculturalism forced upon us by a weak government led by Leo Varadkar. ■



# EU Foreign Policy Blunders

## The National Party

The European Union is a gigantic bureaucracy with an enormous budget provided by EU taxpayers. It is made up of tens of thousands of people all working feverishly to integrate every aspect of EU citizens' lives into one homogenous pan-EU system where national borders mean nothing. One component of the EU bureaucracy controls foreign affairs.

The EU's foreign policy escapades have been an unmitigated disaster. Many of us know little or nothing about this area given that much of what happens here is, it seems to me, under-reported and yet the consequences of these escapades are hugely important to us all.

One such 'unmitigated disaster' is the EU intervention in Libya. The Brussels based Centre for European Policy Studies observed that "as a failed state in the European Union's immediate neighbourhood that serves as a base camp for terrorists and a conduit for irregular migration to Europe, Libya is precisely the kind of place for which the EU's foreign policy instruments were designed, or so one might think".

The EU and others intervened in

Libya and as a result Libya has now degenerated into lawlessness, instability and human suffering on an unimaginable scale. The European Union's involvement in this debacle cannot be swept under the carpet and yet the pro-EU integrationists refuse to accept their complicity in this disaster.

## Why Does It Matter To Us?

The United Kingdom's House of Commons issued a briefing paper in May 2018 which states that:

"The failure of the Libyan state is of fundamental importance to Europe for several reasons: it has become a gateway for unmanaged refugee flows from the whole of Africa across the Mediterranean; it provides a base for international terrorism and other international crime; and it leads to violence and suffering that spill over into and destabilise neighbouring states".

If not prevented these refugee flows will ultimately destabilise the countries into which these refugees and economic migrants arrive. Countries that were once proud of their unique national and cultural identities will awaken one day to find their countries have been turned into homogenous regions of the EU. Their uniqueness destroyed

by unfettered immigration and relentless EU integration.

## How did it happen?

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the UK's House of Commons was damning in allocating blame for what happened in Libya, concluding that:

"In March 2011, the United Kingdom and France, with the support of the United States, led the international community to support an intervention in Libya to protect civilians from attacks by forces loyal to Muammar Gaddafi. This policy was not informed by accurate intelligence. In particular, the Government failed to identify that the threat to civilians was overstated and that the rebels included a significant Islamist element. By the summer of 2011, the limited intervention to protect civilians had drifted into an opportunist policy of regime change. That policy was not underpinned by a strategy to support and shape post-Gaddafi Libya. The result was political and economic collapse, inter-militia and inter-tribal warfare, humanitarian and migrant crises, widespread human rights violations, the spread of Gaddafi regime weapons across the region and the growth of ISIL in North Africa. Through his decision making in the National Security Council, former Prime Minister David Cameron was ultimately responsible for the failure to develop a coherent Libya strategy".

Unsurprisingly the Cameron Government did not accept these

conclusions. One might also note the observation that the policy was not informed by accurate intelligence. This is a recurring theme from around that time in explaining well intentioned yet misguided interventions in the affairs of other countries.

## The European Union Joins The Party

The House of Commons report quoted above refers to the failures as being within the French and UK Governments. They also incriminate the Obama Administration. These are independent sovereign Nations so how can someone like me assert that the European Union is culpable in this? A House of Commons research briefing states that:

"The collapse of Libya represents a major failure and a challenge for the European Union. When the EU began to develop its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the 1990s as the so-called 'second pillar' of the Union, a major and apparently attainable strategic goal was to stabilise the Mediterranean region by developing closer economic and political relationships with North Africa, including Libya. A CFSP 'Common Strategy' to this effect was adopted by the EU in June 2000. The outcome was summarised in April 2017 by the independent Brussels think tank CEPS: ... almost nothing in Libya has followed the liberal peacebuilding playbook, which assumes an improving security situation followed by reconstruction and sustained democratic political

transformation. Instead, the EU has struggled to make any impact while the ongoing chaos in the country has deepened divisions among member states, with migration control emerging as the lowest common denominator for EU action. The EU still has a 'Delegation to Libya' but for security reasons it has operated from neighbouring Tunisia since 2014".

Some readers might argue that the EU was well intentioned in its efforts to help the Libyan people to which the response would be that the road to failure is paved with good intentions. Unintended consequences often arise from misguided strategies and the EU is well versed in failure in many areas, not just in foreign policy.

"Following the ousting of Colonel Gaddafi and the jostling for power among the various militias that sprung up during the civil war, the European powers that spearheaded the military intervention (France and the UK) entered a security vacuum but have done little to stabilise the country".

The implementation of the EU's strategy in Libya was obviously cack-handed. If proof were needed to support my accusation, the numbers of refugees whether alive or drowned in the Mediterranean are proof enough.

The modus-operandi for the EU is to avail themselves of a fortunate crisis such as the migration crisis to further push the EU integrationist agenda. Operation Sophia, the EU's

response to the problem it caused in Libya is the result of the preferred EU solution to the problems it creates, 'more Europe'.

## Operation Sophia

Following the Libya migrant shipwrecks of April 2015, 'Operation Sophia' was set up by the EU with the aim of neutralising established refugee smuggling routes in the Mediterranean. How successful it has been in this its main aim is a matter of some dispute.

In my opinion it cannot be disputed that Operation Sophia has reduced the risk to life but there are valid criticisms of the operation. The BBC state that "Italy accuses search and rescue vessels in the Mediterranean of providing a taxi service for illegal migrants". This point is supported by the UK's House of Lords in a report that claims this kind of search-and-rescue operation acts as a "magnet to migrants and eases the task of smugglers, who would only need their vessels to reach the high seas". No less an interested party than the Libyan coastguard has warned that the EU's 'Operation Sophia' boosts migrant smuggling, explaining that "People, when they get rescued, call their friends to tell them that there are EU vessels only 20 miles from Libyan waters to save them". In effect you can float your dinghy out to sea and the nice European Unionists are waiting in ships with medical staff, plenty of food and, I'm quite certain, you can even charge your own mobile phone on deck!

## Conclusion

To sum up, the EU entered the conflict in Libya ostensibly to protect the Libyan people. In a move that was highly opportunistic, the EU quickly decided to pursue regime change which destabilised Libya even further. One consequence of this is that Libya may end up divided with armed militia (i.e. criminal gangs) controlling parts of the country. This is hardly a ringing endorsement for the calibre of decision-making in the EU. To add to this, the EU has now largely caused a migrant problem along its southern border and its solution to that crisis is to offer to ferry people fished out of the Mediterranean into the EU.

Naturally 'front line' countries are angry that they are expected to manage the migrant crisis alone and unsurprisingly, pressure is being brought to bear via the EU on countries like Ireland to accept more and more refugees into our country to help solve the problem caused in the first place by the EU.

In the context of Ireland taking more refugees, our Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar stated that "it's about solidarity and burden-sharing". The irony cannot be lost on Irish people who were not the recipients of EU solidarity during the banking crisis a few years ago, a crisis severely exacerbated by Ireland's membership of, and commitment to, the Eurozone. Our current Taoiseach expects us to have short memories.

Ireland is sadly led by men and women who owe their allegiance to

the EU rather than their own people. As we await the next EU inspired disaster to befall us we can only hope voters remember their history at the ballot box. The time is right for change in Ireland. ■

# A New Constitution For a Real Republic

Justin Barrett

Who is up for another referendum? Never mind the topic, just the idea. About anything. Or are we all just weary of them on principle? You would have thought so, but not the gallant Charlie Flanagan who has waded in almost immediately with the pressing need to remove the so-called "blasphemy" clause from the Constitution as well as widely reported calls for the removal of the "woman in the home" clause as well. Now abortion is important, regardless of which way you voted I doubt there were many who didn't care about the outcome very much one way or another. It was legally a question of whether the unborn child had an equal right to life to the mother, and if other issues and false information clouded people's judgement that was nonetheless objectively the case. It mattered, it will continue to matter and the referendum result will not be the last word on this important, even imperative, question. Sorry, but that's inescapable. Neither side gave up in 1983 and neither side will give up in 2018 either.

But blasphemy? Who knew it was even there until Stephen Fry did not get arrested for it? The stated right of a woman not to be forced

by economic circumstances to work outside the home is easily as absurd. At no time has the State ever made the slightest effort to ensure that economic circumstances were not crucial to a woman deciding between employment or her supposed "duties in the home". They're both windmills to tilt at if you are feeling quixotic, but important they are not. Both are ignored in practice and have no meaning in the world of actual substantial things. It is nonetheless likely that the Irish people will endure a referendum on both by the end of the year, and now a meaningless Presidential election as well. You could be forgiven for forgetting that the country is closing on €250 Billion in debt, the Health Service doesn't work (even those parts which tell the truth), Brexit could wreck the economy's fragile (and fake) recovery and more and more people have nowhere to live, literally.

Two ignored clauses of the Constitution, and a job with no purpose...

The clause on blasphemy does raise the issue of freedom of speech, but that will not be addressed, since there are many ways in which the establishment wishes to restrict free speech, by law and in practical terms through media control. There



will be no equivalent of the First Amendment to the US Constitution, a thing to be enthusiastically wished for, but will not happen. Since the clause is more likely to be invoked to suppress discussion of the dangers on fundamentalist Islam and drawing pictures of Muhammed, and as such it should go. But since those things will probably be made illegal as "hate speech" at some point, it is without joy that one sees it go. Why anyone would want to set out to offend another person's religious beliefs (unless dangerous) is beyond my comprehension, but it is and has been an everyday occurrence with Christianity to no great outcry, and ignorant poor taste aside, I don't think there should be a law against it.

The second does make reference to a woman's "duties in the home", and if you're looking to be offended I suppose there is offence, though last time I checked with the real world I found duties in the home to be a non-gender biased term in itself. We all have them, whether we fulfill them or not is another discussion. We are really being asked to remove a right that women currently have in theory, but cannot practically access, and that men do not have. The gender bias if it is there, is against men. But it can go too, it's not worth the fight mainly, and third wave feminists score against women yet again.

Certainly, the National Party will campaign on neither, and it's not so much a conscience vote as it is party policy that "we don't care", which is a rarity for our members to

be sure. As far as the Presidency is concerned, there are no contenders at the moment to lower its prestige beneath the current resident's lauding of Fidel Castro or raise it very much either. It has less influence than the Senate, and the Senate failed to convince a majority that it was useless, so that's its measure. There is a big question, though. If passed the two would become the 37th and 38th Amendments to Bunreacht na hÉireann since 1937 and while that might not seem a lot, in the first instance the number is gathering pace, and for contrast the United States has had eight since 1790, with the peculiarity that an amendment in and out counting as two (Prohibition), they have properly speaking had six. When asked by a passerby during the deliberations on the American Constitution what kind of government they were creating, James Madison replied "A Republic, Madam, if you can keep it." And there's the essential, what kind of government do we have on foot of the '37 Constitution. In the Eighth Amendment it contained the right to life of the unborn equal to the mother, it was in some sense the only absolute statement of any kind, the only thing to be gripped onto, unqualified by "here's an idea, parliament will decide".

Bunreacht na hÉireann is not the Constitution of a Republic, it didn't even claim to be, there is no central concept at all, it is a mechanism for functioning governance, and it is increasingly proving to be a poor one as EU amendment after EU amendment chip away at the only tangible thing there was;

sovereignty. The mechanism was self functioning within itself, it isn't even that anymore. The potential for tyranny was present, certainly, but we didn't see any change there since its author was the only real man of ambition to shape the State as opposed to climbing the ladder, and he already had the State in the state he wanted.

The origins of the 1937 Constitution which is still substantially in place as law, unless someone seeks a judgement from abroad which affords many options from a binding EU Court of Justice ruling, to rulings from other non-descript bodies that Irish governments have consistently treated as though they were binding, is shrouded in mystery. It seems primarily that Éamon de Valera locked himself in a room with a stack of books for a few weeks and emerged with the document, on which he had fairly limited consultations and even fewer changes, and then we had a referendum. It's not actually the worst way to write a national constitution, various successful and unsuccessful attempts to amend it by wider consultation involving more people are evidence enough of that. Had the man in the room been anyone but Mr. de Valera it has much to recommend it as a process. It was and is nonetheless a bit of a mess.

For if Éamon didn't consult so widely face to face it seems he looked into his heart etc. etc. and forgot no interest group he could think of without some mention. It has "worked", so to say, in that the country did not

fall into immediate or subsequent chaos, and we have avoided the post-colonial nightmares of many a former British subject. Though that may arguably be because we were a nation, and not a randomly drawn jurisdiction without regard to ethnic loyalties or geographical sense, as were so many of the "countries" that emerged from Empire. We pride ourselves, not without cause, with only one Civil War since the foundation of the State and none within the 26 county area since the enactment of said Constitution. All's well that ends well?

Except that history is a process, not a destination, and "well" or not it certainly hasn't ended. And the foundational legal document of the State grows more convoluted with each amendment and increasingly difficult to define, even in the ordinary sense of a degree of certainty. That this is the law, this is what it means and as a citizen I can go before the court to receive the acknowledgement and enforcement of my rights, so long only as I have the evidence of fact. Law, or more precisely entry into court proceedings of any kind, has become a calculated guess with the stakes ever higher as you rise through the system up to the Supreme Court, wherein no barrister of sound mind will tell you on the facts of the case such will be the outcome.

In brevity what is lacking in the current Constitution is a central idea. Liberals think it too Catholic, and maybe it is, but it wasn't framed that way, a product of its time it was endorsed by Archbishop

McQuaid to be sure (one of the few consulted), but on the other hand Cardinal McRory wanted a condemnation from Rome which in 1937 would have killed it stone dead, and possibly have done irreparable damage to Fianna Fáil in the process. It is a mechanism without an idea. And because it has no idea, the default was inevitably the British "unwritten" Constitutional model.

It is not at all clear in the British model where power lies, theoretically speaking, and the primacy of parliament has only been established by time and usage, the

actual powers the Crown might have, were a politically ambitious and charismatic monarch to take the throne, are vague and potentially very great indeed. The only point of clarity then is that Bunreacht na hÉireann establishes absolutely the primacy of parliament, not only over individual rights, no small thing, but over the principle of democracy itself. It provides for emergency powers, (Article 28.3.3) which incidentally were never voted for, that are potentially suspensive of all rights, including the dissolution of parliament itself. Not so very



much time or usage underpins the notion that such emergency powers might not at any time be invoked by a parliamentary majority. And no straight read of the text suggests any limitation.

Ireland is not only not a Republic, the Act of 1948 declaring the Republic by name can itself be suspended or revoked, it is a parliamentary dictatorship. Within the ordinary text of the working Constitution (not suspended), are declarations of "rights" which are then "subject to public order and morality", as provided by legislation of parliament, or surrounded by other such legal instruments as may practically nullify their exercise. There are no real separation of powers, the executive has almost none, the judiciary is appointed by the government drawing its power to do so from parliament and any judge may be removed by a motion of parliament. All covered over by the right to dismiss the entire thing altogether if it's too awkward.

So, there was the Eighth Amendment. It provided for the right to life of the unborn equal to the right to life of the mother, and while untrampled by the X case decision, prevented the direct and intentional killing of the unborn child. It's gone. By vote of the electorate. The Liberals want the ban on blasphemy gone. Can't care, don't care. They want the "special role" of women gone. Can't care, don't care. No direct mention of the Preamble in public discourse yet, but in a document providing for legalised murder it's blasphemous surely, ironic certainly.

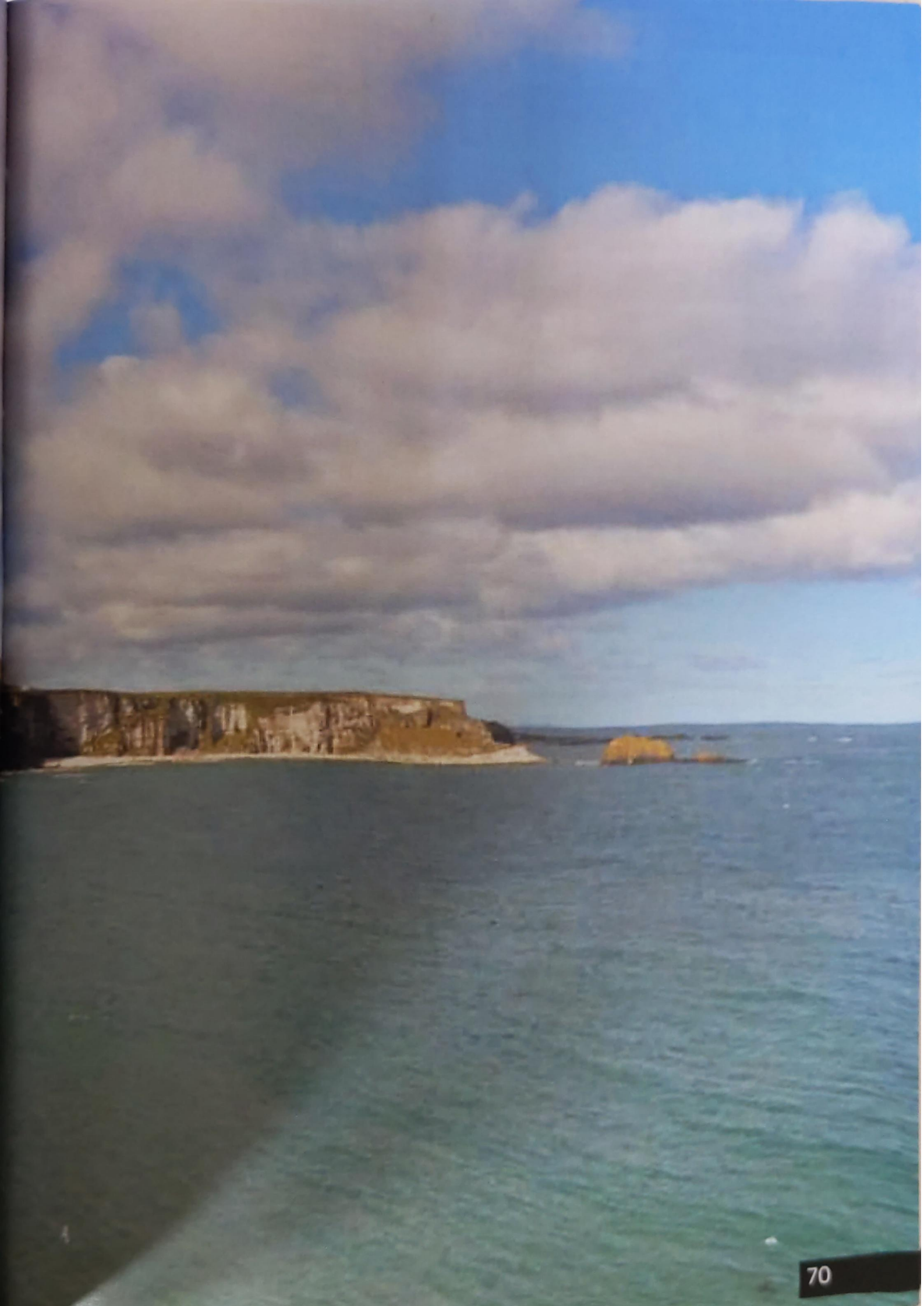
They will want it gone. Can't care, don't care.

Mr. de Valera's Constitution was always unworthy, it is now worthless. Let's be rid of it by a single amendment repealing the entire thing, and the enactment of a Constitution of rights and responsibilities in accordance with the Natural Law as befits a genuine Republic, a free Nation of a Free People.

That's worth a fight. ■



# Looking Forward



# An Irish Future

## Balancing East & West

### The National Party

It is easy for one to imagine Ireland as being in a stable position geopolitically, with little to be concerned of once our own internal problems are solved. Indeed, this view is commonly held by people from all walks of life. In reality we reside on a precarious crossroads between two giants; continental Europe and the Atlantic Anglosphere.

Culturally speaking, there is no

doubt that the Anglosphere is the dominant force in the world. If the United Kingdom is the gateway for American cultural influence into Europe, we live in the gatehouse. Much like our British neighbours our own culture in the modern day is heavily Americanised, and so too is our political outlook.

For all its many faults, the European Union provides a form of counterbalance to American influence in the Old World. While politically they are undoubtedly intertwined and share the same



openly globalist agenda, Ireland has found itself in the unique situation of being heavily linked to both.

Our economic and foreign policy is largely directed from Brussels, but our cultural devolution is being driven by the powers that be across the Atlantic Ocean. For the time being this might not pose a direct threat to our long-term survival bar the obvious internal issues, but with the prospect of these two immensely powerful political blocs going through a discordant divorce, we are the child which will suffer in the custody battle.

It is all well and good to put forward plans for short term issues such as mass migration, the housing crisis, and so on and so forth – but without a long-term strategy that deals with Ireland's place in the world, it will all be for naught.

The United States and its main political partner the United Kingdom are both nations with periods of heavy decline on the horizon. Be it from national debt and unsustainable economic policy to an end of social cohesion through political radicalisation and migration – one thing is not in doubt; that their influence is beginning to wane.

The nations of the European Union, while similarly wracked with issues of debt and social cohesion, their future appears somewhat brighter. Nationalist movements have sprung up across the board over the past decade and are gaining speed. It is not unimaginable to see a National Rally led France and an AfD led

Germany within the coming years, complementing the already right-wing and far more cohesive Visegrad nations.

Finally, the third power bloc comes in the form of the Eurasian initiative, led by Russia and China. Together these two immense nations counter each other's weaknesses and are on the rise on the geopolitical stage. Both have largely solved their own economic and demographic worries and are well on the way to becoming the next centre of global power. No longer will the Washington-London axis dominate, but more likely Moscow-Beijing.

With the inevitable withdrawal of American global hegemony towards a more isolationist model, Russia and China will fill the gaps left behind. China in Asia and Africa, Russia in Europe. With a nationalist-led Germany on the horizon, it is all too easy to see Moscow and Berlin together renewing the prosperity of Europe, especially considering Russia is the AfD's favoured superpower ally and Chinese credit will be essential in fixing European finances.

So where does this mind-boggling shift of global influence leave our beautiful green island on Europe's periphery? It leaves us with a choice. Anglosphere or Sino-European cooperation.

Many in Irish politics would undoubtedly have us firmly situated in a dying Anglosphere for the sake of their own interests, our financial and political elites are

firmly anchored to that bloc. As Irish nationalists it is our duty to weigh the benefits of each side and choose what is best for Ireland. It is also where a chasm forms on the right-wing of the political spectrum.

This chasm is encapsulated in the politics that led to the British exit of the European Union, and so too for the politics that pushes for an Irish exit. The conservative but not implicitly nationalist side of politics appears to endorse this idea, most likely due to lacking a deeper understanding of the issue. Flee the EU and rush into the welcoming arms of Britain and America. The reality is less cheery.

To cut ties with continental Europe and embrace the Anglosphere would be immensely damaging to Ireland, not only is that bloc in decline, but from a historical perspective it could hardly be described as having been kind to us. Such a move would put us at the mercy of the United Kingdom, a nation which still clings to the northern quarter of our island, and vastly increase the influence of the US corporate lobby here. If we were not already a cultural and economic colony of the Anglosphere, it would be our sure fate in the aftermath of an Irexit.

There is no doubt we share many laudable ties with the United Kingdom and the United States, the latter in particular. We have an immense diaspora in both nations and have positive relations in the modern day. The link between Irish-Americans and their ancestral homeland cannot be

underestimated, and the same goes for the benefit of Irish-American economic cooperation.

However, with the United States facing internal problems and adopting America-First as policy across the board, the logical conclusion is that Irish interests are not at the forefront of their decision making. As nationalists we must also put Ireland first, and in that case the greater opportunities are clearly offered by continental Europe and the Eurasian initiative, not to mention that they are more open to partnership and less likely to demand political subservience – such is the direction we must take.

Taking that direction and not suffering the consequences of the European-American breakup is the more difficult challenge. No matter which path we take geopolitically, the twenty-six county area constitutes a state of just 4.8 million people, a comparative minnow on the international stage.

In the coming decades, our survival as an independent nation will be ensured only by successfully charting the geopolitical waters of the Atlantic edge and dealing with our many internal problems. If we wish to truly prepare for the future, our economy and our demography is key.

As any nationalist should know, reintegrating the six counties is integral to our future. Not only does it add essential demographic weight to our country, it offers an economic boost particularly in the industrial

sector if managed correctly. Beyond the absorption of the North, the return of much of the diaspora should be a major priority for us nationalists. There are an estimated three million Irish passport holders residing abroad, most highly educated, the return of these people to their homeland should be a natural goal and constitute the vast majority of future immigration into Ireland.

With these two initiatives accomplished, an Ireland of 10 million people is very feasible, assuming a positive birth-rate can be maintained. By halfway through this century we should be aiming for between 10 and 15 million. For a small nation on a geopolitical crossroads of increasing importance, human capital is paramount. An Ireland of numerous well educated and patriotic young people will be essential to secure the continuity of the Irish people.

On the economic front it will be more important than ever to develop a country attractive to professionals, both in order to bring home the diaspora and to ensure an end to the brain-drain that has plagued us for over a century. Increased investment in oil and gas exploration, as well as a switch to nuclear power will be focal points of development for reducing costs and increasing our independence.

Not only that, but due to the contentious space we occupy, a measure of national self-sufficiency should be prepared. To rely on others is never a good policy, let alone when

you share a history of conflict with much larger neighbours. Food and energy self-sufficiency are two goals that should be at the top of our to-do list.

The future of Ireland is to be the focal point of trade and innovation between the Americas and the European-Eurasian initiative. A demographically strong, technologically advanced nation that takes advantage of its excellent strategic position between the two poles of economic and political power in the world of the future.

With such a national template, there will be nothing in the way of a long overdue Irish Revival. ■



# In The Eye of the Cyclone

## The National Party

Being a nationalist in modern Ireland is the most difficult thing one could possibly be. By attending this ard fheis you have already demonstrated a certain willingness and courage which the majority do not possess, nor will they ever possess it.

There are certain uncomfortable truths which we as nationalists must face. These uncomfortable truths I'm referring to aren't the talking points against mass-immigration, nor the realities of abortion or anything else I would consider overtly "political". No. They relate to a more serious and more fundamental reconfiguring of almost everything you were led to believe is true. The most salient of these is the unbinding faith in the regime which is instilled in us from the cradle to the grave.

To most, the regime is the final authority on all matters. It is the ultimate arbitrator of right and wrong. It is the polaris of our very lives. The line of demarcation I would draw between a committed nationalist and an uncommitted one is how much credence they put into what the regime says and does. What Irish nationalists require is the

ability to scrutinise what the regime tells you, especially when it relates to the nationalist movement. Realise that the regime is not an impartial umpire in a "game" of politics. We're not engaged in mere politics. We're locked in a race for our national survival. What we espouse is the antithesis of the profit-driven creed of the regime. We cannot overly rely on the justice or fairness of the regime itself. At this time in our history we must publicly acknowledge the regime as it stands, yet privately we must shed all preconceived notions of its supposed supra-political nature.

The other uncomfortable truth we must reconcile with is that there is no silent majority. The majority of Irish people are quite easily trodden into submission. The majority go with the trend, they go with what they see and hear on TV. They go with the approved options time and time again. The abortion referendum result vindicates this. But with this knowledge we are better prepared to formulate a strategy which does not require building a broad mass-appeal. It might be said that building a mass-appeal requires neglecting a higher truth. And there is always a danger in politics of becoming emmeshed within the regime itself. Political populism is a route which no doubt will be explored in the

coming years in various ways. And we shouldn't underestimate its importance. But at the core of the movement must remain those who are keenly aware of the dynamics of the battle we are locked in.

Knowing these realities of the situation we are in is important to creating a conducive strategy towards victory. Victory is unlikely to come in the conventional manner of winning a general election and forming a government. The National Party will therefore not be a conventional party. The organisational structure of the National Party will be a prototype for the type of State we want to build. Irish history is adorned with trials of dedicated groups of nationalists who have attempted to do this. Today, the strategy of the National Party is of course to contest elections with the hope of winning

them. Contesting elections and running political campaigns is the only viable action we can currently take towards victory, as it builds the size of our organisation and victories ensure legitimacy. However, the ultimate goal of the National Party must be to achieve political power. The regime will not go gently into the night through conceding a general election to us. To work around this we need to build the organisational foundations which will one day usurp the instruments of the State. To practically do this in the immediate our focus must be not solely on chasing after seats and elections, but on building a lasting organisation of committed and wise nationalists who understand the nature of the game we are in.

In the immediate, the tactical approach of the National Party must be to get NP candidates elected. This



will garner us legitimacy amongst the general public. Our spokespeople will speak with a greater authority and clout with the post-nominal letters TD or MEP. But winning a seat here or a seat there must not be end goals in and of themselves. We must similarly understand that we will never be permitted to win a majority in the Dáil, not while the regime retains such unbridled control over the media and by extension over most Irish people. The focus of the National Party therefore must be something much greater than the mere party-political. Without substantial financial and powerful backing, we cannot hope to sweep aside the other parties and save this country. The realistic approach therefore is to coalesce those who already agree with us, people like you, into this party. To build and develop a lasting organisation, one which is not going to self-implode in

the event of an electoral loss.

History shows that a relatively small spark can light the greater powder-keg. No doubt this will occur in the future. When this happens there will be a window of opportunity for our movement to assume political power. It is impossible to discern the nature of what will come. But when it does, the National Party needs to have the organisational structure which will make it capable of governance. To achieve this level of organisational sophistication we must focus on our own, on taking care of our members and fostering their dedication, and on creating a port of refuge for nationalists in Modern Ireland. ■



# Liberalism Has Had Its Day

## The National Party

Liberalism has peaked in Ireland. And it has peaked on two issues. Abortion and the housing crisis. The ability to kill your own child and the inability to afford a home. These two issues on which the Left have focused so much in 2018 are connected, but not in the way the Left assumes. For it is conspicuous that on one issue they have gotten their way and on the other issue they have not. We have made of our own house our gallows and yet we can't even afford the rent.

Abortion is a "choice" but a home and a family are a luxury which only a few can afford. In 2008 our government on behalf of the Irish people chose debt before honour. Ten years on, the Irish people on behalf of the Irish government chose death. The outcome of social and economic liberalism is the liquidation of the Irish family and by extension the Irish nation, to be replaced by a rootless, immigrant society on the British and Coastal American model. A society on the model of an airport duty-free.

On the issue of abortion, the Left made a lot of noise but in actuality they didn't even have to get out of second gear to win. Because the

Centre wanted it as much as they did. On the issue of housing they are now in top gear with their foot to the floor but meaningful victory is as beyond them as it was beyond the Pro-Life forces in May. The West is now dominated by economic and social liberalism, personified in figureheads like Varadkar, Macron and Trudeau. Mercurial deracinated spin-doctors for whom the Left have no answer. These figureheads are pathological centrists, Fabians and internationalists, able to buy popular support across a broad spectrum of society. In a Liberal country everybody has a price. The Left can be bought off with butchered babies and everybody knows it.

Take Back the City is merely street theatre and make-believe. They are occupying the houses of the very people who voted with them to "liberate women" from babies. The coalition of the selfish. The vote to Repeal the Eight was a vote for Liberalism (not for class warfare) and as such a vote for something that transcended class-interest; plain selfishness.

"My Body, My Choice" was ironically a propertarian concept, not a communitarian one, and yet People Before Profit put it on their posters. Liberalism is the synthesis of the worst instincts of conventional left

and right wing principles. The most anti-national, anti-human elements of both. The Left doesn't seem to realise that Liberalism doesn't care about homeless people any more than it does about aborted babies. Or see any real difference between them. Money and the next fix are all that matters.

Repeal the Eight was packaged and sold as liberation. And like Celtic Tiger era mortgages it was an easy sell. (When the bank manager says, "Here, have all this money" a great many people just nod and say, "Thank you"). Take Back the City on the other hand is being marketed as essentially Help Thy Neighbour. But there is no majority for that in Liberal Ireland. In Liberal Ireland the paradigm is Abort Thy Neighbour.

There is no majority for an old school left-wing housing agenda in a society united by selfishness and apathy. A society that says: "Give me what I want and I want it now." A society that says: "Give me freedom and give it to me yesterday." You want to talk about solidarity in a post-nationalist society where identity is merely a PPS number?

A society where the revolution is mass-marketed by corporate and financial interests? No, the paradigm has played itself out and the Left has played itself to a standstill. Something else must enter the fray.

Liberalism has had its day. It has had its victories. It has had its dinner of the Left and the Right. It self-evidently dominates every aspect of our society. And there is only one place to go from here. One paradigm that allows us a way out of the full spectrum dominance of economic and social liberalism. And however long it takes, Ireland and the rest must pivot towards it. That paradigm is of course rooted nationalism.

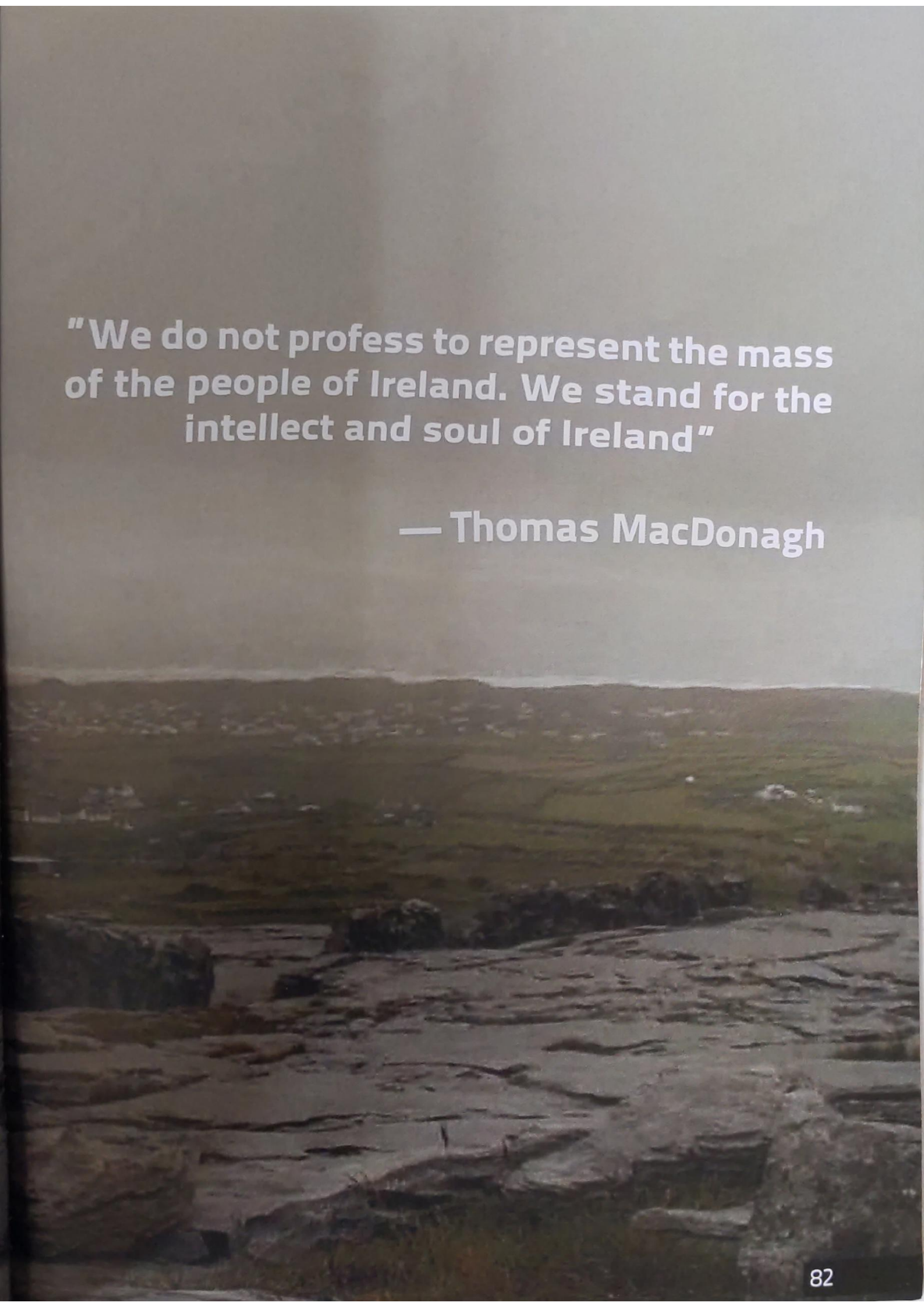
Rooted nationalism says "I stand by my own." It says "This is my country and I don't have a choice. This is my family and I don't have a choice. This is my duty and I don't have a choice." When it comes to the things that really matter we don't have a right to choose. ■

Ar Dheis ar Aghaidh !

**"If there are men who believe that the path to redemption for mankind is through universalism, cosmopolitanism or any other ism than nationalism, I am not of their company. I am not concerned with the interests of humanity at large. I am concerned with the interests of my own people."**

**— Arthur Griffith**



A photograph of a rugged, rocky landscape. In the foreground, there are large, flat, grey rocks. Beyond them, a body of water stretches towards the horizon. The sky is overcast and grey. The overall tone is somber and atmospheric.

**"We do not profess to represent the mass  
of the people of Ireland. We stand for the  
intellect and soul of Ireland"**

**— Thomas MacDonagh**

AN TIONOL NÁISIÚN  
THE NATIONAL PAR

